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THE MONTH

OCTOBER 1960

CHANGING AFRICA

CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHANGING AFRICA

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CATHOLIC EDUCATION AFRICAN PARISH

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THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHANGING AFRICA

By

PAUL CRANE

IT WOULD SEEM, at first sight, that the Catholic Church has little to fear from an emergent Africa. Rather would she appear to gain, for the transition to independence of so many countries of that continent means the passage of power and influence to educated, indigenous élites whose members, more often than not, have enjoyed the benefits of a Catholic education. Few realise in this country the extent of the educational effort put forward by the Catholic Church in the mission field. It rarely receives public reference because so often resented by the secularist and centralising mentality of a large number of colonialist officials, to say nothing of itinerant reporters of the African scene. With this mentality in retreat, however, it might be thought that the Church will come into her own as African countries achieve their independence. By this one does not mean, of course, that she will receive an increase of secular power or that, absurdly, independent African States will convert themselves into theocracies. The Church has no desire for either in this day and age. What one would hope for is simply that those who control the affairs of the new African States would tend to set their effort, at all stages of political and social life, within a framework of moral principle based on a true understanding of the value of human dignity. The educated African Christian should be expected to contribute this, at least, to his country. All men of good will, whatever their religion, would want him to do so.

Unfortunately, there is no guarantee that he will do this. Neither is the blame primarily his. It rests largely with an educational system which, in its higher reaches, has not embodied an explanation of the true relationship between religion and public life. What the enterprising young African has learnt of the latter he

has gathered for the most part from alien sources and he has done so by his own efforts. So far as English-speaking Africa is concerned, the secularist institutions of the Anglo-American West have filled the void in his thinking which higher Catholic education on the spot in Africa has rarely succeeded in filling. As a result, the Catholic African speaks very often with two voices. In private, his accents are those of a pious Christian. In public, secularism dominates his utterances as a leader at almost any level. As a follower, his allegiance is given to those who speak against the background of this philosophy. Catholic deficiency has left him with two compartments in his mind. He is content that there should be, for he has rarely been taught to see the relationship of his religion to public life. Consequently, he does not understand that attendance at church may be difficult to reconcile with allegiance to a philosophy which stands in contradiction to Catholic Social Teaching. The incompatibility between the two is not present to the minds of most educated Africans. When it is recognised by a few, too many of them come down in favour of an alien social philosophy and abandon their Church. Not formally of course; they simply let it slip away from them as no longer relevant to their own political future or that of their country. For such as these, Christianity belongs to a country's colonial childhood. It can have no part in the adult life of an independent nation. These are the sentiments of many educated Catholics in Africa, who have drifted away from their Faith or whose practice of it is confined to formal attendance at church and little more.

More tragic, in some ways, is the attitude of the masses who follow. On this point of the relationship of religion to public life, they remain contented schizophrenics because it has never entered their heads that the one has anything to do with the other. For them, there is no question of a choice between their Faith and what might appear as an alien public philosophy. The need for a comparison does not even arise because, to their way of thinking, the practice of their Faith is confined to attendance at church on Sundays and little more. For them, public life remains something controlled by public men. Influence over its course is something they regard as lying outside the scope of their religion. Formerly, in their eyes, it was the servants of a colonial power who controlled the public course of their lives. Now it is their own politicians who do so. Independence, for them, means that.

They cannot think of themselves, at present, as exercising any influence over the affairs of their countries. They have never thought of themselves as doing that in their colonial past. Why should they think differently in their independent present? They have, in fact, all the less reason for doing so now that their own representatives are in charge of their lives. This attitude is all the more understandable when one realises that, formerly, the Church's effort in this regard was necessarily limited to an attempt to preserve her freedom of action through negotiations carried out at top and local level between her own clerical representatives and the servants of a not unfriendly colonial power. Because she had to work in the past with colonial paternalism, the Church in Africa has not yet succeeded in adapting herself to a new situation, which requires that a great part of the influence secured formerly by direct negotiation be gained now through the influence wielded by an educated laity at all levels of an independent country's social and political life. For reasons already given, most of the members of that laity are without inclination to exert it in this fashion. That is why the dynamic of the new countries in English-speaking Africa remains largely in secularist hands.

We have confined this analysis to an examination of the results flowing from a failure, in the higher reaches of Catholic education in Africa, to relate religion to public life. Remedial measures would do something to supply the emergent countries of that continent with the beginnings, at least, of Christian lay influence. Much more, however, is required in the longer run if African Catholics are to have any significant impact on the societies of which they form a part. The way to that is not, primarily, through the serried ranks of organised Catholic Action. It is a matter, rather, of the permeation of a social structure by values made manifest in the integral living of Christian lives. The way to this is through a type of teaching which reveals their Faith to the rising generation of African Catholics not only as a discipline to which they must be loyal; but as something which brings fulfilment to their lives. It is not enough that the few at the top should be taught that the Church has a social message and trained for leadership. Efforts in this direction are essential in the short run. They must be paralleled in the longer run by others, which work for the integrated Christianity of all and whose aim is to reveal Catholicism to young Africa in terms of life and fulfilment in Christ.

Only when they understand it in this fashion will the rising generation of Catholics in that continent take their faith through their *living* of it, quite effortlessly to those about them. This is what one means by the impact on a social structure of integrated Catholic lives.

The effort needed to form Catholics of this calibre would seem to require, as an essential preliminary, a more adult relationship between priest and people in place of the understandable paternalism of earlier missionary days. One might sum it up by saying that the endeavour of the missionary must no longer be to protect his flock from "the world." He must teach them Christ in order that they may overcome it. His task is not now—if it ever was—one of mere conversion. His business is to transform his baptised Catholics into a Christian community. It will only be undertaken when it is realised that the two are not the same.

For the rest, the successful accomplishment of this task would seem to require a threefold line of approach. Its elements only can be presented here. In the first place, a new emphasis is needed in the schoolroom—away from the learning of religion by rote and in the direction of its explanation in terms of richness of life in Christ and its relevance to everyday living. Equally necessary, in the second place, is the bringing of the liturgy to the life of the parish, the fullest participation of the people in the worship of God and the framework of that worship linked as closely as rubrics allow with the local African environment. The intention here is that people should see their parish church primarily as a source of supernatural life relevant to their everyday living and not only, as too often, a place for the fulfilment of religious observance. Out of this kind of approach there should come a growing realisation of the meaning of unity in Christ as something which must express itself also in the social field. The Credit Union, the Co-operative, other forms of self-help then begin to take shape amongst Christians as manifestations of their membership of the Mystical Body. They constitute a third strut in the building of a Christian community. Rightly conceived, these forms of mutual co-operation between Catholics strengthen the liturgical life of the parish from which they can so easily spring. There is, as it were, a dynamic relationship between liturgy and the kind of social action which generates mutual help at parochial level.

One has only to look at the outline of this long-term task to

see its magnitude and the enormous amount of careful planning and patience required to carry it through. One should think also of the realignment of emphasis needed in the formation of European missionaries, African priests and nuns and lay teachers. There is much to do. This number of *THE MONTH* has been produced in the hope that its contents will prove of some small service to those who are already trying so hard to get it done.

THE TRAINING OF AN AFRICAN CLERGY

By

DAVID MATHEW

Archbishop of Apamea

THE WORK of the training of an African clergy has been pressed forward constantly by the Holy See. The African Catholic people know very well that it is to the Papacy that they must look for the formation of a priesthood from their own people. It has proved evident that this indigenous priesthood must first spring from an African Catholic countryside. It would also in general seem that the best results come from the candidates born into an already Catholic family.

The enemy of vocations, as also the enemy of Catholic life, is the great city. Even now the number of vocations that come from the crowded industrial areas of the great cities is very trivial. In this sense there is a resemblance between the body of priests of African origin and the priesthood of the old Catholic countries of Southern Europe; both come for the most part from farming stocks and from agricultural labourers. There is, however, one other source of vocations which again reflects the conditions of the Church in Europe. Many church students are the sons of teachers in the Catholic schools.

With this there goes a characteristic of real importance: the African Catholic clergy have a deep attachment to their own nation. This attachment fits in very well with the establishment of the vicariates apostolic, which have now become dioceses. The secular clergy are ordained to the service of their own diocese and this means that the African priests will pass their lives with their own nation. This gives a particular cohesion to the diocese of Moshi, which contains the whole of the WaChagga country, the diocese of Nyeri, whose inhabitants are all Kikuyu, and the White Father dioceses in south-western Uganda, which serve the various elements of the Baganda people. These few examples from East Africa can be multiplied in those territories and, indeed, throughout the Continent. The actual instances in this brief survey are taken from the eastern portion of the old Mombasa Delegation. There is not space here to examine the seminaries in West Africa, which have a complicated history and were generally established at a more recent date than those under review.

The system of the Tridentine seminary, and perhaps especially the establishment of the *petit séminaire*, fits very well into those great tracts of countryside in East and Central Africa which are now Catholic. The age of entry to the seminary is in accord with the parents' view of the time when the boy should decide upon his future. It seems conventional to add that the family should be well known to the local missionaries and that the boy should be close in to the mission church, perhaps serving upon the altar. The determined wish for the priesthood should be assured. The reason why this point needs stressing lies in the fact that in certain areas in West Africa, especially where the family circumstances are less well known, the boy is sometimes sent to the seminary by his parents as a means of gaining a free secondary education. There are exceptions, but in general it can be said that the best African church students come from a genuinely Catholic countryside.

It would also seem desirable, where this can be obtained, that the seminary should be conducted by the missionary society to which the diocese is entrusted. In these cases it is simple for the priests who staff the seminary to be familiar with the country and the way of life to which the seminarist has been accustomed. A knowledge of the particular native language is of real importance

and all the staff should have done, if only for some months, mission work in the diocese which the seminary serves.

A human relationship between each seminarist and at least one of the priests upon the staff is vital. Such sympathetic contact will make a real difference to the young ordinand, who may be sent out to a mission where the superior does not give much time to considering the African priest's problems.

The relations among the various seminarists who belong to the same nation are in general good, and in dioceses where the African clergy are already numerous the senior priests from their own country do all that they can to keep the Africans together, and to help them in any difficulties that may arise. In the Catholic country districts the people have a pride both in the seminarists and in the priests from their own nation. One of the consequences of this pride is a rebellious reaction when seminarists from their immediate district are dismissed abruptly. It would seem to be the ideal arrangement, when this is practicable, that both major and minor seminaries should either serve one diocese or alternatively a group of dioceses staffed by the members of the same missionary society. In the case of the new African dioceses these, until they have seminaries of their own, should use those staffed by the missionary society to which their territory formerly belonged.

When considering the greatest area of continuously Catholic countryside, one recalls those lakeside dioceses stretching like a great column through the spine of Africa that are served by the White Fathers or by the African dioceses that have sprung from them. The pagans alone compete with the Catholics in this region stretching from Nyasaland northwards, going up both sides of Lake Tanganyika, reaching Urundi-Ruanda and spreading eastwards to Lake Victoria Nyanza. This is the region of the old lacustrine vicariates.

The Moslems coming westwards from the Indian Ocean are only present in pockets as at Kigoma. The Presbyterians are met in strength in Nyasaland and the Church Missionary Society in Uganda; but in between is a district of over five hundred miles of mainly Catholic territory. As one travels north and sees at regular intervals the spires and towers of the Catholic churches, one realises how much the future of religion in East Africa depends upon this land.

This area is served as far as the British territories are concerned, for the former Belgian vicariates have their separate organisation, by the three regional major seminaries of Katigondo, Kipalapala and Kachebere. St. Thomas Aquinas at Katigondo is the oldest and greatest of these three seminaries and is fortunate in that all its students are drawn from White Father territories or from African dioceses which they once served. This seminary has a very well-built and attractive lay-out spreading along a hillside in the rich lands of what is now the diocese of Masaka. It is in the heart of the most Catholic province of Uganda. It has always seemed to be particularly appropriate that this seminary should have been the training ground of the first African bishop to be raised to membership of the Sacred College.

Before leaving this stretch of White Father territory one should touch on the situation of the minor seminaries. It is remarkable that the number of students who do not reach the priesthood is not much greater in these parts of Africa than in the average minor seminary in Europe; but the question of the future of the ex-seminarist and the maintenance of his Catholic life is a vital factor. In these areas, until one reaches Uganda, the Catholic secondary schools are very sparse. If the boy returns to his parents at the beginning of his course, he can of course resume that agricultural life to which his brothers are for the most part bound. But if he completes the course of secondary education, which the minor seminary comprises, it is important that he should leave with the qualifications which will enable him to take a white-collar job. This can be achieved if the seminary takes the public examinations of the territory. The care of the ex-seminarists is a most necessary work throughout the mission field. At Dar-es-Salaam there is a determined effort made to keep in touch with those who have come to work in the capital of Tanganyika.

The presence of African priests is of great value at all stages of the church student's life and particularly in the minor seminaries where the boy is for the first time alone and under the care of foreigners. This is of course always supposing that the bishop has available for the seminary staff an African priest with the qualities of sympathy and prudence that are required.

We have come in Africa suddenly and almost unexpectedly upon the day of small things, and my own mind does not favour the future establishment of the great regional seminary, especially

if that college is to be entrusted to some celebrated teaching body, which is without experience of the African bush missions from which the students come. It seems clear that the permanent realities in Africa are not those great swathes of territory carved into colonies by the European Powers, but rather the relatively small areas which are the home of a single tribe or nation. My own preference is for the latter term. The second phrase, although less usual, is more exact. The word "nation" is as an expression perfectly neutral. A "tribe" always carries with it a suggestion of the primitive.

What we need is to obtain priests carefully trained and of the highest quality. In two of the dioceses already mentioned, in Moshi and in Nyeri, there exist both minor and major seminaries. In each case the bishop, the rector of the seminary and the superior of the student's mission of origin, belong to the same religious society. They are within easy reach of one another. All these points are very helpful in the careful examination of any problem.

Of course there are certain African nations among whom the Catholics are still in a small minority. But in general the Catholic element is appreciable and our co-religionists should do all that they can to build up the prosperity and maintain the prestige of their own nation. When priests become more numerous they can go out and serve the colonies of their people who have left their homeland for the cities; a priest from Iboland can have a special care of the Ibo Catholics in Lagos and priests from their own country could look after the Jaluo and WaChagga in Mombasa. Whatever else may happen in former colonial Africa, the power and identity of the nation will prosper and survive.

It may be said that to place emphasis upon the inevitably relatively small diocesan seminary is retrograde, but it seems in keeping with the new Africa. In some cases there are other reasons. Thus the traditions of the missionary societies vary greatly, originating as they do in very different European countries. Thus the Benedictine Archabbey of St. Ottilien is responsible for the sphere of the great Abbey *Nullius* of Peramiho, which serves the peoples in Southern Tanganyika against the border of Portuguese East Africa. This is, perhaps, the most completely organised mission area in the continent. It bears the authoritarian mark of the Bavarian Benedictines. Here, too, there are a minor

and a major seminary. Traditions have altered little since the old days of German rule. The spirit of the people is very different from that of those living in the northern parts of Tanganyika. In bringing their Catholics into line with the new political world of Dar-es-Salaam the missionaries now face a heavy task. This makes the development of an African clergy still more urgent. Among each nation priests must come from their own people.

To return to the general position it is evident that for seminarians of marked ability there should be a passage from the African minor seminary to the Pontifical College *de Propaganda Fide*. The more dioceses that can be represented in Rome the better for the developing Catholicism in Africa. There is also opportunity for priests, whose whole training has been in Africa, to go to Rome for post-ordination studies.

It would be lacking in candour to pretend that all seminaries have been successful. The increase in political freedom and the development of an African seminary staff will inevitably lead to an increase of African consciousness, which should be fostered among the seminarists. Experience has shown that some subjects of ecclesiastical study seem particularly suited to African talent. It is easier to find an African student who will excel in canon law than in the abstractions of scholastic philosophy. There is often an inherent capacity to memorise customary law and a chief's rulings. The students should be given a sense of the unbroken continuity of Church history beginning with the Flight into Egypt. Stress should be laid on the African Fathers, to whom the whole Church is indebted. At the same time there is an unfortunate contrast between the very rapid development of African consciousness, which is so often linked in political circles with an anti-European feeling, and the tardy establishment of seminary training.

There should be some opening for the young African who might wish to enter the great Religious Orders. There is hardly any opportunity for the following of a vocation to the *Vita Contemplativa*. The Carthusians, and above all the Cistercians, are admirably suited to the great continent. Liturgy, the sacred chant and manual labour fit so well with the traditions of Africa. We can hardly hope for real progress until the African is offered an entry into the full inheritance of the spiritual riches of the Church.

One fact is notable. The development of the late vocation,

found in Europe and among the mission countries in India, has hardly as yet developed in Africa. Further vocations at the age of seventeen or eighteen at the conclusion of the course at a Catholic secondary school are seldom found. One reason for this may be the difficulty of the obligation of celibacy, a conception which has no place in the ancient African traditions.

The Catholicism of the African middle class, which our range of secondary schools is tending to create, seems well assured. It is the great urban proletariat which is in danger. We might well consider in our seminary preparation how we can teach the country lad to deal with this new problem. It need hardly be said that it is not for the Europeans to give their views on questions of politics. Rather should every effort be bent on retaining for the African the links that bind him to his own countryside and its long history. It is the African priest who will mould his flock according to the values of that background which they both share.

Throughout the whole operation of the seminary system it ought to be made clear how deeply the Catholic Church opposes even the faintest suspicion of Apartheid. The relationship of the missionary with the indigenous priest or church student in any part of the world depends on the degree to which the European priest venerates the graces which come with ordination. In the home countries of Europe the gulf which separates a priest of some years standing from a seminarist may be a deep one, but then they both belong to the same race. Time will remedy this disparity. But where the races of individuals differ, such a line of conduct is dangerous. The missionary who in this mid-century fails to recognise the links that bind him to all his brothers in the priesthood is in fact a relic of an earlier age. Each one of us needs in dealing with an African a refreshing openness and candour. We must expose our thought to him and speak most plainly. The spirit of a candid friendship should be the key to the whole relation. We priests from Europe are very scattered in that vast continent. Africa is wide and its priests are our brothers.

THE PLACE OF THE PARISH IN AFRICA

By

MICHAEL DEMPSEY

NO ONE, with ordinary human forethought could have expected the winds of self-rule to sweep across the continent of Africa at such gale force. To complain about the too precipitate course of events is to mistrust unerring Providence. The Church, at the same time, has every reason to be very anxious about the fortunes of Catholicism in Africa.¹ Nevertheless, some order may emerge from the apparent chaos, and Africa's being catapulted into a new age may help to unify missionary work and accelerate the use of the liturgy as a force peculiar to the African apostolate. Current events will inevitably bring into sharp focus the reason why missionaries are in Africa.

The final purpose of the missions is not the salvation of souls. That is the first law of the Church everywhere. In summarising the statements of his two immediate predecessors, Pope Pius XII was quite definite on this:

The ultimate goal of missionary endeavour, which should never be lost sight of, is to establish the Church.²

If the work of saving souls is not understood in the tradition of the Church, the final end of the missions can be frustrated. This situation is present when apparent zeal for souls interferes with the establishing of the Church, or when long-range planning is neglected because an individual missionary wishes to be in direct contact with souls. Conversions and the administration of the sacraments are consoling to every missionary, but if all missionaries insist on this as the final objective of their labours, then the Church will never be established. To neglect what is essential

¹ Fidei Donum, *The Popes and the Missions* (Sword of the Spirit, London), p. 79.

² *Evangelii Praecones*, *ibid.*, p. 52.

to establishing the Church on the plea of saving souls, is not thinking with the Church. In the long run, fewer souls will be saved.

Catholic population statistics make imposing copy for Catholic magazines. Mere conversion is hardly enough. The faith must be propagated in such a way that the Church may ever become firmly established in new lands. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to make these people capable of assuming their responsibility for the present and future welfare of the Church.¹ The chief care of those who rule the missions should be to raise and train a clergy taken from the people among whom they live. On this are founded the best hopes of the Church. As the number of priests, in proportion to that of faithful, is decreasing in Africa, the need to increase the autochthonous clergy becomes more urgent. Otherwise, the apostolate will be not only crippled, but will prove to be an obstacle and an impediment for the establishment of the Church.² Traditionally, the good Catholic home has been the setting in which vocations flower. Second- and third-generation Catholic families are not too numerous in Africa, and economic circumstances make it necessary for parents to entrust their children, at an early age, to the care of relatives and friends. Vocations, consequently, become an exclusive pastoral care. In the Divine economy, Africa has had no lack of the graces of vocation. The seeds of vocation are present among altar-servers and choir-boys. If not nourished by the parish priest, the seed often dies. Personal interest in fertile youth organisations and personal contact with each of the members should hold a pre-eminent place among pastoral responsibilities. Briefly, the missionary must vigilantly seek out the signs and develop them zealously: "One man must *draw* another to the service of God."³ An ailment common among missionaries is what Fr. Petitot, O.P., calls "*morbus aedificandi*." Missionaries readily admit the danger of an unconscious naturalism creeping into their apostolate when material preoccupations consume most of their time. This impediment to the establishment of the Church could be perpetuated at this critical moment by insisting on the priority of primary schools and of sacerdotal construction foremen over

¹ *Principes Pastorum*, 28 November, 1959.

² *Rerum Ecclesiae, The Popes and the Missions*, p. 30.

³ St. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, II-II, Q. 189, A. 9.

the basic and urgent need of vocations. This would be an extremely shortsighted omission to make, for as far back as 1926, Pope Pius XI, with prophetic insight, saw the plight of modern China:

Suppose, owing to war or political upheavals, the request is made or a law passed that the foreign missionaries of a certain country must leave. What then would be the disaster that would threaten the Church, unless full provision has been made for the needs of the Christian populace by a network of native priests throughout the whole country?¹

For the greater part of this century the chief emphasis of the African apostolate has been on the primary schools. This has proved most advantageous to the growth of the Church. Historically, though, in the emergence of any policy of intransigent nationalism or racial discrimination, the first target is the denominational school. In such a situation, the parish becomes the sole stronghold of the faith. Parochial life, therefore, must have deep spiritual roots. This means that the parish should be immersed in the liturgy—the public worship of the Church.

In the early Church the faith was strong and vibrant when the laity could neither read nor write, and long before any elaborate catechesis was employed. The living liturgy, actively participated in, was the primary pastoral care. It produced a deeply-rooted Christian faith—the kind that made martyrs and kept the faithful unscathed by the dogmatic and moral errors of the day.² The liturgy is a school of the Christian life in which the faithful are taught the truths of the mystery of the redemption. This is evident in the Eastern Church, where the spiritual life of the laity is formed substantially by the liturgy. For them the Christian life is that liturgical life which penetrates their hearts and forms their faith.³ "It would be difficult to find a truth of the Christian faith," said Pope Pius XII, "which is not somehow expressed in the liturgy."⁴

Any approach to the African parish must include a consideration not only of the characteristics of the people, but also of the Christian structures of the past. It would be a mistake to expect

¹ *Rerum Ecclesiae, The Pope and the Missions*, p. 32.

² J. A. Jungmann, S.J., *Assisi Papers*. Worship Supplement (Collegeville, Minn., 1957), p. 18ff.

³ Dom O. Rousseau, O.S.B., *ibid.*, p. 123.

⁴ Allocution, *ibid.*, p. 225.

Catholicism to be incarnated in Africa in exactly the same mould in which the Western world received the faith. Neither Christ nor the Church wants the African to be less African because he is Catholic. Catholicism should grow to fruition in an African milieu. This means preserving and developing all that is positive and using it to enrich the life of the whole Church. Those who bring the message of Christ to Africa are soon made keenly aware of what St. Paul sensed in the Athenians gathered at the Areopagus before the altar on which was written "To the Unknown God." The Africans are a religious people with a profound respect for the spirit world. This is most providential. In their communal and ritual life, they have always taken great pleasure in music and in the religious chants that lend beauty to their idolatrous ceremonies. Our own liturgy is the integral public worship of the Mystical Body of Christ, and as art and music are the handmaids of the liturgy, it would not be prudent to underestimate or neglect altogether this valuable aid to the apostolate.¹

Public worship, then, is already a part of the African culture. No group of people is better disciplined by natural custom for the assimilation of the ritual life which is so deeply incorporated in the Catholic Church. The communal meaning of the liturgy must be deepened and safeguarded by pastoral care to eliminate the ever-present and dangerous illusion that belonging to the soul of the Church is sufficient. The increasing defections from the Christian churches founded during the Reformation and the existence in Africa of so many sects are caused by the innate desire of Africans for a rich, ritual life in their worship.

The noble functions of the liturgy—the altar, the sacraments, and the perennial praise—exert a great attraction on the religious aspirations of the African people. Daily Mass, frequent reception of the sacraments, full congregational singing of the Missa Cantata and Compline, active participation in the Low Mass, and the attentive devotion given to the ceremonies of the Restored Order of Holy Week, are clear indications that the new legislation of the Church for the active participation of the laity in the liturgy will receive a greater reception from African Catholics than from any other body of Catholics in the world. In the light of these

¹ *Musicae Sacrae Disciplina*, "The Pope Speaks" (1956), Vol. 3, No. 1, Washington, D.C.

circumstances, the reluctance to introduce the evening Mass, particularly on Sundays, poses something of a mystery.

Where the gospel is preached in any new land it should not destroy or extinguish whatever is naturally good, just, and beautiful. The Church does not recklessly uproot a thriving forest, but grafts good stock on to what already exists. Everything that is not indissolubly wedded to religious error, will wherever possible be protected and encouraged by the Church.¹ It is for the experts to determine where essential Christianity ends and where Western Christianity begins. There is little evidence of any adaptation of Christianity to the African national character. To the Western mind, dancing at funerals is considered, at best, quaint, and, at worst, reprehensible. But there is such a thing as the sacred dance; David danced around the Ark of the Covenant. Adaptation does not mean compromise nor mutilation of the essential message of the gospel, but rather an intelligent integration of it into the African culture. Surely, the use of European-styled dress for First Communion and religious processions is over-westernisation, particularly when their customary dress is far more attractive and modest. This is simply robbing the people of what belongs to them by right. Such points identify the Church with colonialism and can be the occasion of making irreconcilables of the national leaders. In 1659, the instruction of the Holy See to the missionaries in China was decisive on this point:

In no way persuade these people to change their rites, customs and manners of life, unless these practices are flagrantly opposed to the spirit of religion and good morals. Do not bring with you your homeland customs, *but only the faith.*²

From the days of primitive Christianity the sermon has been very closely associated with the liturgy of the Mass. Not only is the priest obliged to dispense the mysteries of God, he must also proclaim them by his preaching. Faith is transmitted more effectively by the living voice than by any other medium of communication. Christ did not write; He did not command the Apostles to write; He spoke and commanded the Apostles to speak.³ St. Paul said, "Christ did not send me to baptise, but to preach."⁴ In ordaining deacons the Apostles gave as their reason: "that we may devote ourselves to the ministry of preach-

¹ A.A.S., "Summi Pontificatus," p. 429.

² A. M. Roguet, O.P., *Assisi Papers*, p. 93.

³ *Collectanea*, Vol. I, p. 42.

⁴ *Titus* 1: 17.

ing."¹ The sacramental grace of Holy Orders is given that the priest may perform his sacerdotal duties fruitfully. Preaching is one of these duties. Obviously, this particular grace has not been given to catechists or teachers.

Like a sudden landslide, the advent of Western ideas has disrupted the traditional African outlook. The result has been a divided and confused state of mind. The dignity of agricultural life yields to the inexorable forces of city life, and entirely new, civic and socio-economic problems arise. This changing state of affairs, and the phenomenal growth of labour unions, demands that the people be made aware of their obligation to take a position on their contemporary surroundings. They must be able to judge these altogether new problems according to the social teachings of the Church in order that the dignity of the human person may be spread abroad.

Just as the meetings of the early Christians were centred round the word of God and the Eucharistic Sacrifice, the Sunday Mass is the traditional and most satisfactory setting for the preaching of the truths of the gospel so that "the little children may not complain that there is no one to break their bread." Classrooms, lectures and literature are aimed at specific levels of society. It is preaching alone that reaches the Christian people as a whole. Not just any kind of preaching, but preaching that follows a three- or four-year cycle, and which reflects careful preparation and presentation: "A slackly-prepared lesson on God is one way of taking God's name in vain."² If the growth of the Mystical Body stagnates in Africa, it will be because the Church lacks good preachers and leaders.

To establish the Church firmly in Africa the liturgy must be an important part of the pastoral care despite:

The heavy weight of indifference, the lack of understanding, even of scandal which threatened to stifle the slightest defence of what, nonetheless, a Pope would come to call "what is sacred *par excellence*." . . . Is it too much to say that the danger of the great figure of our loving, common Mother being effaced from our minds is especially serious to-day? The casualness with which the most formal and the most clearly imposed liturgical prescriptions are coldly transgressed is an obvious symptom of this danger.³

¹ Acts 6: 4.

² Frank Sheed, *Are We Really Teaching Religion?*

³ Bernard Capelle, O.S.B., *Assisi Papers*, pp. 32-43.

Pope Pius XII has pointed out the two extremes to avoid in the matter of the liturgy, "a blind attachment and a complete contempt."¹

While the liturgy is the work of the whole Church, it is not the Church's only work. The Church embraces, as well, all human activity in which religion and moral interests are involved. In the social and political crisis that Africa is undergoing, it is necessary to organise a select group of Christians. It is necessary that Christian communities provide their countries with men who honour their professions and activities and at the same time by their solid Christian lives honour the Church which has regenerated them to grace.

In the organisation of social work, of labour, and of political life the presence of native Catholic experts might have the most happy and beneficent results if they are inspired by Christian principles in producing the common good. This implies men, proved by most ample guarantees of their own solid intellectual and moral Christian formation by virtue of which they can transmit to others what they already possess by the grace of God.²

It remains for the parishes in the larger cities to establish some kind of training programme for leaders of Catholic Action. Natural leaders must be sought out by the pastor. Intelligent young men and women, with zeal for the apostolate, must be organised and given an intense spiritual education to prepare them to live in a Catholic manner in their proper social and professional environment. Catholic guilds for doctors, lawyers, labour leaders and educators must be organised on their own social and intellectual levels in some diocesan centre of the larger areas. It is a job for experts, but the parish must supply the urgent need at the moment. The maturing of the Church must be accelerated. The estrangement of the educated classes—practically all of them products of the mission schools—from the Church, stems from the eclectic nature of their higher education in overseas non-Catholic institutions, which seems to leave them with an areligious outlook, convinced of the primacy of the economic in determining success. This attitude of mind must be met by a select body of educated and apostolic Catholics. There is little use in the Legionaries of Mary repeating that dialectical material-

¹ Allocution, *ibid.*, pp. 226-7.

² John XXIII, *Princeps Pastorum*.

ism is false, unless there is a Catholic *élite* who have the philosophical understanding to confute the errors of Marx. The Church in New Africa must come to maturity quickly. "The older established Missions must develop without delay the activities indispensable for the expansion and radiation of Catholicism."¹

THE OUTLOOK FOR CATHOLIC EDUCATION

By

RICHARD WALSH

SCHOOLS, like land, lie near the source of man's deepest emotions, and their inescapable relation to man's religious beliefs provide very inflammable material in political life, as events proved not very long ago in France. The Church welcomes the emergence of the African States as free and independent nations; yet she cannot but feel some apprehension about the future of Catholic education once these young States embark on the uncharted seas of political turbulence. Events in the Sudan, Guinea and Ghana-Togoland are too recent to be forgotten.

The educational system in Africa is still, like the Church itself, very much in its teens; in most territories it is barely forty years old! There are few of the new or potential republics where more than forty per cent of the children are receiving just a four-year literacy course, and of the thirty-two million people in British East and Central Africa, less than 2,000 have had a university education or its equivalent. There is no doubt that all these countries will begin with ambitious plans for educational development, most of them taking over where the colonial Power left off and showing themselves anxious, at least in the early stages, to keep existing mission schools in the picture. But will all of them invite

¹ Pius XII, *Donum Fidei*.

the Church to play an active part as a relatively autonomous agency, as she has until now, in the opening of new grant-aided schools and teacher-training colleges under her control and ownership?

This is rather a difficult question to answer in the context of some two dozen independent republics in different stages of launching. In some cases they have, or will have, had several years of ordered preparation for independence; in others, States have come into being, so to speak, *ex nihilo*, before people were aware of what was happening. Sometimes, not only has official independence come about with unprecedented unexpectedness, but also unfortunately in a climate of frustration and racial hatred, of confusion and violent revolution, so that nobody can foretell how long the unity of the new State will survive the official date of independence. All that one can say with assurance is that the dice are loaded heavily against the chances of the Church surviving indefinitely in her present favourable position in education. The emphasis is going to be on raising material standards of living and on developing the resources of the country. Only very great statesmen, and Nkrumah may be of this calibre, will rise above the squalid race for economic and material aggrandisement and look about anxiously for a source of spiritual values and supernatural norms of conduct. In an address to the Pax Romana Congress in Accra in 1958 he said that to become really great Ghana must be Christian. But such men are going to be rare and the sole *raison d'être* of education plans for many will be the requirements of economics, health services and politics, to enable them to catch up with the Joneses of the international world. Africans travel from one "Democratic" World Congress to another, studying how China, Yugoslavia, Russia, Israel, Egypt, etc., have accomplished so much in such a short space of time, and seeking inspiration in wildernesses of spiritual ideals.

In Islamic countries like Somaliland, Senegal, the Sudan and Northern Nigeria, the Church can expect to receive little encouragement to co-operate on her own terms in any education development. As regards other States, which are the majority, perhaps the severest handicap under which the Church will have to work when it comes to fighting for its rights in educational matters will be that she appears as yet so heavily westernised. For despite the creditable speed with which she has produced African

priests and nuns, not to mention the present nucleus of forty African bishops, it is principally in European guise that she will have for some time yet to defend her schools in conference with African ministers sitting at desks vacated by their former European masters. In the years immediately ahead, missionaries—priests and and bishops—are going to have it brought home to them that they are "foreigners," and until many more dioceses are entrusted to sons of Africa, African ministers of education may understandably show themselves lacking somewhat in enthusiasm when claims for the rights of the Church are voiced by foreigners speaking in the name of the African Church. The relations may be still more strained in countries where the hierarchy is constituted in large part by members of the same race as the former colonial power from whom, Africans may claim, they gained their independence practically at pistol point.

If, in such countries as do not turn to secularism and worse for inspiration, Catholic schools survive, it will be because the respective Governments, believing in the need of religion as the foundation of society, agree that it is through unidenominational rather than multidenominational schools that religious values can be best taught and inculcated. This is the system accepted in British Africa, but in recent times it has lost to some extent credit in the eyes of Africans partly through the sometimes bitter campaigns waged between Protestants and Catholics over school sites and the enrolment of children. Thus, some government administrators were not slow to point out to the African authorities, mission schools were a cause of dissension and disunity, as well as a threat to local government authority because, they claimed, the respective agencies were more concerned with the growth of their Church influence and membership than with the general good of the people. It is very difficult for pagan or Muslim chiefs and political leaders to disbelieve this, and the position of unidenominational schools, that is, of Catholic schools, will continue to deteriorate as long as the different Christian bodies do not find a formula enabling them to bury much of their rivalry and settle disputes out of court, so to speak. African leaders are, and will continue to be, anxious to uproot anything that threatens either the unity of their people or their allegiance to the authority of the State. The same sort of danger threatens the teaching of religion in State schools where these are multidenominational: lack of

tact on the part of teachers of religion on the subject of attendance at religious instruction might result in the total suppression of the teaching of religion in State schools. The fate of Catholic schools as well as of Catholic catechetical instruction inside State schools depends in no small measure on the realisation that Catholics and Protestants will stand or fall together on these issues as perhaps on others also.

Another sort of cancer that eats away public backing for subsidised Church schools in Africa is the economic arguments which are advanced to show that one multid denominational State-owned school can do the work of two or three unidenominational ones; it is claimed, of course, that efficiency is thus stepped up. Moreover, when the people own the school instead of a "foreign" mission, they are readier to increase their taxes to support it. At the same time, religion is not neglected, because not only can Catholics, Protestants, Muslims and pagans attend indiscriminately, they can all choose to follow whatever religious instruction they want. These arguments make a strong appeal to African leaders, as was evident during the British African Education Conference at Cambridge in 1953, attended by African teachers and politicians from every British African territory, who were unanimous in claiming that all ownership and control of African schools should be vested exclusively in Government. It would be illusory to suppose that these sentiments have abated in the meantime on the eve, or at the dawn, of African independence or that in the Congo and elsewhere many Africans think differently. On the other hand, missions have learnt some salutary lessons, and in many areas of British Africa bishops have agreed to the establishment of parents' school-councils with members from all sections of the village and including members of the local government irrespective of their creed, the object being to put the onus for the financing and development of the school on the people themselves. If the mission schools move out from their isolation and are shown to the people for what they really are, the people's schools though still Catholic schools, they stand a good chance as being regarded as an integral part of village life and their survival will be less open to doubt. Compromise may have to be pushed to the extent that Catholic schools be opened to every child, irrespective of creed, with facilities for religious instruction for all.

Muslim communities seldom show any initiative in education, save that all over the continent where there are Muslims there are small Koranic schools where nothing but Islamic doctrine is taught to the children. This apathy, however, is disappearing rapidly; but they rely almost entirely on State schools. It is not surprising, therefore, that Muslims do not anywhere look with favour on Catholic and Protestant schools, and they often complain about "the financing of the spread of Christianity through state-subsidised education." In any case it is true to say that in most areas the proportion of Muslims receiving education is much lower than that of Christians, and last year the Muslims of Tanganyika petitioned U.N.O. to postpone the date of independence until there were more educated Muslims with the requisite educational qualifications to be eligible to vote. The future head of the Tanganyika Government, an excellent Catholic, recently said publicly in America that when plans were implemented for educational development, the new African Government would feel obliged to devote so much of the available money to Muslim education that the Church will have to rely more than in the past on contributions from its own sources if she is anxious to have many new schools of her own. One of the strong claims of Muslims to privilege in a nationalistic atmosphere will be that Islam has had less traffic than any other religious group with the colonial master and the West in general, that it is nationalist by definition, which is, in large part, the truth.

Generally speaking, it would seem that at the beginning, and for some years to come, the African States will, with few exceptions, be anxious to maintain Christian schools already in existence. They are too numerous and valuable to lose. But any plans for an increase in primary schools will probably be concentrated on state-owned institutions, secularist in some cases, as perhaps in parts of the Congo and former French Africa, multi-denominational in others. But an increase in primary schools means a proportional increase in secondary schools and teacher-training colleges. It is here perhaps that the Church will be given the greatest measure of encouragement, since such institutions require highly-qualified staff which Africa cannot as yet provide. It is by paying special attention to all opportunities offered in this field that the Church can best prepare for the future, however uncertain it may be. Where the Church makes up its mind to

provide the best possible staff of religious, priests and laymen, both African and European, for its teacher-training colleges, it will go a long way in consolidating its position by making itself indispensable in this domain. But this supposes a change in attitude towards our schools in more than one diocese where until now what was barely sufficient was enough. Let us face it, too many of our training colleges are still second-rate because too many of the staff have barely got the minimum qualifications, academic and other.

Secondly, it would be necessary to alter the policy followed in many areas until now, and agree to train teachers, not only for our own schools, but also for State schools: good Catholic teachers in State schools is becoming daily a factor of vital necessity for the Church in Africa. The role of the catechist in State village schools and of priest-chaplains in post-primary government institutions in the years that lie ahead should also figure prominently in any Church education policy. These catechists should be highly trained in the latest methods of catechetical and liturgical technique, and where the number of catechumens warrants it, there should be separate classes catering for them at different stages of instruction, so that the school, albeit non-Catholic, is in some way integrated in the catechumenate.

Even in self-conscious Muslim communities, there will always be a welcome for girls' post-primary schools conducted by religious. There are reputedly 20,000 nuns in Africa, about one-quarter of them Africans. Africa cannot hope to emulate America, where Catholic schools have thrived without any State assistance, and that mainly through the devotion of thousands of religious teachers. But it is an example that the Church in Africa should attempt to follow by founding more congregations of African nuns and brothers for the highest educational posts in secondary and domestic science schools and teacher-training colleges. Until now, very few have qualifications comparable even to those of primary school teachers in Europe and America.

Under colonial rule, very often the Church has had to stress her rights of ownership and control of her schools. There will not be wanting certain politicians, European as well as African, who will try to give the impression to African statesmen, proud and jealous of their autonomy on the morning of independence, that here they are in the presence of a sort of State within the State. At

this crucial moment it is unfortunate that the Church will, in most instances, be a still mainly European and, therefore, foreign hierarchy. Moreover, the negotiating power of the Church will be weakened still further in places where the enemies of the Church seek to link her with former colonising powers towards whom African leaders may, for one reason or another, entertain feelings of resentment or downright enmity.

Another consequence of the Church's efforts to preserve her autonomy in education is her relationship of Employer *vis-à-vis* Catholic teachers in her schools. Because of inevitable human failings, the atmosphere in which the parish priest meets individual teachers is often strained, so much so that one wonders whether control at such a price is not at a loss. Certainly much can and should be done to improve these relations by the effort on the part of the missionaries to understand better the psychological factors of the problem and the teacher's point of view. Basically, that is what is necessary, the initiative coming from the missionary. Perhaps as the number of African parish priests increases and with growing consciousness among the African Christians of their responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the Church and its essential aims and institutions in their country, African teachers will be forthcoming with a greater awareness of their vocation and duties. On the one hand, the priest should not expect to find among all his teachers a standard of devotion and zeal similar to that of members of his various lay-apostolate movements, among whom the poorly paid catechists are certainly to be numbered. On the other hand, given the great influence for good or ill that teachers can have in a young Church, the Church in Africa should accept only the best as candidates for the teaching profession. Normally, the worth of the candidates will be the worth of the Catholic community at large.

So far, Africa has only two Catholic universities; one, a creditable but struggling college in Basutoland, a small country with the highest percentage of Catholics in all the continent, and Lovanium. The first is English-speaking, the second, French. Roma has little to lose, unless, of course, the South African Government does not go all out to suppress it, because its funds come from private sources. Lovanium, on the other hand, has till now been financed principally by the Belgian Government, with the assistance of substantial gifts from American foundations. It was

brought into being by a Belgian Catholic Government, and the question one may ask now is whether the new African Government will allow it to survive for long as a Catholic institution. Although it is a very recent foundation, it has grown rapidly and acquired a widespread reputation mainly through its close association with the great Belgian university that sired it, shared its name with it, and endowed it with some of its own finest professors. Unfortunately, there may not be many Africans in the Congo able to appreciate the value of this association, and it is to be feared that some of the national leaders may attempt to repudiate its origin and sever the university's connections with the Church, if not with the former colonial power. Certainly there are some schools of thought in Belgium itself which would aid and abet any attempt to put an end to Lovanium's association with the Church. The final issue will depend to a large extent on the agency providing the immense sums required to maintain the initial promise of the university. The new Congo State will hardly be able to find the money. If the Belgian Government is willing (and able) to continue providing the requisite funds with the assistance of private foundations, then it is reasonable to suppose the university may keep its present character; but this good will of the Belgian Government is dependent, seemingly, on a Catholic party remaining in power in Brussels. Nor is it inconceivable that the character of the university be changed against the will of the financing government. One should be prepared with a campaign from within as from without the Congo, to eject the Chairs of Scholastic Philosophy and Theology from the university, together with the ecclesiastics occupying them. Much depends in all on the impression on the African leaders made by Belgium's handling of the events of the past eighteen months that led up to the granting of immediate independence despite the obvious unpreparedness for this of the Congo people. Another vital factor is the outcome of the present game of power politics between certain Congolese national leaders.

At the moment, Catholics in former French and British Africa have to attend State universities. In the second instance, provision is made for the presence on the staff of a Catholic, as well as a Protestant, chaplain. This is working out fairly satisfactorily. Nevertheless, one feels the need of at least two Catholic institutes of recognised university standing for English-speaking

Africa, one for the East and one in the West. Nigeria and Ghana alone have twice the population of all ten republics carved out of former French territories. But any project must start from the premise that a Catholic university must compare favourably with State-owned universities; anything less would risk defeating one of the main purposes of a Catholic university, namely, to prepare Catholics thoroughly in the spirit of the Gospel, to take their place in public life and influence it. Unfortunately, this calls for funds and staff that seem beyond the means the Church disposes of at present. It is not impossible to think in terms of one or other of our best secondary schools in former British territories working towards university college status with affiliation to Makerere (Uganda), Ibadan (Nigeria) or Accra (Ghana), each with a limited number of less expensive faculties (as is the case of Pius XII University in Basutoland) or else with affiliation to one of the more outstanding Catholic universities in America, Canada or Ireland. But here again it is an illusion to suppose that even such modest projects can be realised without very considerable outlay, and anything second-rate would cripple rather than advance the issues the Church has at heart.

It would seem that at present the only course open to the Church in Africa is to exploit fully the possibilities inherent in State universities, mainly chaplaincies and the availability of lecture-professorships to Catholics as well as non-Catholics. Chaplains to the English-speaking universities are already appointed, but in some cases their presence could be more fully exploited. Again, if the number of good Catholics on the staff is often almost infinitesimal, is not the responsibility for this in large part at our own door? One has the impression that we are not doing all we might to ensure that Catholic graduates from English-speaking countries are made sufficiently aware of the need the Church has of them on the staffs of these institutes of higher learning. The presence of a greater number of Catholic lecturers is required, not only to act as a good influence on the students, but also to ensure that the scholarship and research in State universities is not left almost entirely to non-Catholics. In this way, the Church can hope that Catholic thought will contribute to the well-being and culture of these young countries.

It might be better not to think for the moment in terms of a Catholic university, since it appears this would be beyond the

actual resources of the Church, and make the best of present opportunities: after all, half a loaf is better than no bread.

The sudden upsurge of nationalism in Africa and the consequent transfer of the helms of the African States to the hands of Africans themselves, brings home more forcibly the need to Africanise the thought and practice of the Church in these lands. At the same time it would add to the stature of the Church if there were one or more institutes of ecclesiastical or mixed sciences for the clergy somewhat similar to the *Institute Supérieur de Théologie* that has just been founded in Madagascar. At such a centre, with the co-operation of one or other of the Pontifical Universities in Rome, research work could be undertaken in matters like anthropology, ethnology and the social sciences with special reference to Africa. The centre would also be useful for the study and teaching of pastoral theology and liturgy adapted to African ways of thought and custom. In the absence of a Catholic university of human sciences, this sort of research centre would constitute a second best but still a valuable contribution by the Church towards enriching African thought and guidance of public opinion.

Some years ago an offer was made by one State university in Africa to allow the Church to open Halls of Residence for priests, brothers and nuns attending the courses. The matter fell into abeyance, but one might consider it worth while taking up the question again both with regard to the university concerned and to others in Africa. The presence of priest and religious undergraduates would have a very salutary influence on the attitude of staffs and students towards the Church and Christianity. The answer to this problem, after obtaining the necessary ecclesiastical approval, lies in finding religious Orders or Congregations suitably equipped from academic and other points of view to direct such Halls of Residence.

The years that lie ahead will surely be anxious ones for the Church and Catholic education. However, much will depend on the extent to which she has been able to lead Catholic African laymen to realise their responsibility in the matter. Where these look upon Catholic education of their children as *their* responsibility as much as that of the hierarchy and are determined to assert their rights in this field, one may feel more reassured not only as regards Catholic education, but as regards many other vital issues as well affecting the spread and growth of the young Church in Africa.

It would seem the chances are against the Church continuing for long in any but a few countries to order and control her own schools' finances by public money. Most of the young States, if not all, will sooner or later concentrate on a State monopoly of subsidised education. The wisest policy would seem to be for the Church to exploit fully any advantages she has and, in the meanwhile, prepare for the future by imaginative thinking and by trying to keep, as far as possible, one step ahead of events. In the meanwhile, too, the Church in her wisdom will continue to Africanise the various hierarchies, since as long as she is regarded as foreign in any country she can never hope to attune her mission to the sentiments of the people nor be accepted as part of the national patrimony.

THE LAYMAN'S PART IN SOCIAL ACTION

By

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NO ONE about to read this article will be under any misapprehension concerning the Church's position *vis-à-vis* society; yet for clarity and coherence it will be as well to state their relationship, which arises from the nature and function of both. As Christ conceived the Church, it was to embrace all men. She was to be the means of perpetuating and propagating His teaching, a teaching that was concerned not only with faith but also with morals. We are inclined to take this for granted, to forget, or just not to realise, that morals cover the whole range of *mores*, the activity of man. There is a distinction between natural and supernatural in this activity and yet the two are not entirely separate. What is natural can be made supernatural by grace and intention. What is supernatural requires and pre-

supposes the natural. The supernatural, we are taught, is a sublimation and perfection of the natural order.

The Church's function is to bring man to a supernatural end. This she can only do by communicating grace, and such directives as will favour man's orientation towards his supernatural end. In doing this she is concerned not only with the life of the soul, but with the life of the body and its implications in all man's spheres of activity, domestic and social. It is the unity of life that she pursues, of interior and exterior, and a continuous progress from this life to the next. The keynote of true Catholicism is a healthy balance of apparently conflicting ideas, forces and interests. Had that effective unity and interdependence of natural and supernatural been already realised, much of our present-day social activity would have been unnecessary. In a society permeated by Christian principles right order would generally prevail. To-day we continue the struggle against disorder.

Almost two centuries ago, as Pope Pius XII pointed out, the separation of Church and State, which was worked out in the French Revolution and applied in the American and other modern constitutions, necessitated a change in the organisation of the Church's apostolate. No longer did it suffice to have true doctrine taught from the pulpit. It now had to be carried as an antidote for statism and naturalism into market-place and council-chamber, workshop and senate. And the people to carry it were the laymen, no longer merely believing and living a teaching, but organised and instructed to communicate it.

The Church's message embraces all aspects of human activity in which conscience and responsibility are involved. By a paradox of history, so perverse can man be, she is now obliged as well to teach and to defend man's freedom. For man tends to abdicate personal responsibility and abjure his freedom when it entails onerous duties. In this he finds himself assisted by the impersonal state, which willingly arrogates more and more power over its subjects, even in matters of conscience, which it would reduce to articles of human law or matters of convention, *e.g.*, regarding marriage and divorce, the just wage, etc. Here the Church's moral role is involved. To fulfil it she claims freedom to exercise a right which justly belongs to her, and also to carry out a duty of justice and charity, that of helping and guiding man to acknowledge and carry out conscientiously his appointed tasks. The

Church's role as a body dictates that of her members as individuals. The Catholic must accept and teach others to accept not only the facts of freedom and responsibility as a privilege, but also their consequences in the moral sphere.

The primary function of the Church is as a teaching, a sanctifying body with a doctrinal and sacramental role. She must teach not only the content but the consequences of faith. Christianity is not only cult and creed; it is also a code. This embraces social questions which arise from man's nature, according to which he links himself with other men, co-operates with them, assumes in his turn responsibilities towards them and stands to benefit by theirs to him. It is worth emphasising that a man's responsibilities must be fulfilled in a natural order of priority, starting with the duties of his particular state in life. The fulfilment of these cannot strictly be termed an apostolate, but they are nevertheless an indispensable foundation for any genuine apostolic work. To quote the late Holy Father: "We recognise the powerful and irreplaceable value for good of souls of the ordinary performance of the duties of one's state by so many millions of conscientious and exemplary faithful." In his October 1957 address to the World Congress of Catholic Action, Pius XII summarised fully and succinctly the various categories of activity this social teaching embraces: family life, education, relief work, industrial relations and political organisation. In all these matters the Church must fulfil her role as teacher and guide, propagating the teaching of Christ and counteracting errors, whether of paganism or of false religions. In all social matters the liberty and responsibility of the individual is involved. And as solutions to problems new or perennial are elaborated, it is her duty to foster their development and application.

The Church plays no direct part in politics, nor in the marshalling of natural forces and resources for man's benefit. Indirectly through the activity of her members she must share in their work in the political field and in economics and scientific research. These are the "secular disciplines" which the social doctrine of the Church informs and interprets. But she has always understood that these are not functions of her ecclesiastical members, except in so far as one or other endowed with special aptitudes might supplement the efforts of laymen. Clearly it is of advantage if members of her teaching ranks are acquainted

with the problems and endeavours of her faithful, and likewise that professional men should have a clear understanding of her perennial philosophy and revealed doctrine. In the modern context of absolute separation between Church and State when the State tends to arrogate to itself powers which belong to and affect the spiritual order, to-day more than ever it is necessary for Catholics to have a clear understanding of the role of the Church. Human activity cannot be divided into exclusive departments, ecclesiastical and lay, any more than the material can be totally separated from the spiritual. There are however definable spheres, such as the sacramental on the one hand and the political on the other, in which special competence is accorded by God to Church or State. The Church or the State might have a practical interest in the sphere of the other—civic consequences of marriage, for example, or moral aspects of positive human law. The doctrine of a spiritual life to which man accedes by a free gift of God breaks down the limits of materialism within which man tends to restrict himself.

Before going on to examine the implications of this situation for the layman, it might be useful to point out two other exaggerations both erroneous and equally harmful, that are sometimes overlooked. Clericalism, an excessive respect accorded to the opinions of priests and religious outside their special fields, is as rife to-day as ever before, and it can impede the lay and social apostolate. It is fostered not only by authoritarian ecclesiastics, but also by zealous lay-people who are too avid of directives from priests, and eager for them to assume further responsibility.

Later in this article it will be made clear that there is a difference between Catholic Action and Social Action. It is enough for the moment to indicate that the separate fields of natural and supernatural (always allowing for the overlapping of interior and exterior life, of grace and human vitality, and the superiority of the former over the latter) provide the grounds for this distinction. We are continually warned, and in our turn warn others, of the dangers of excessive naturalism. Exaggerated supernaturalism also cramps the activities of lay people. This may arise from over-praising organisations which foster individual piety at the expense of those who are zealously carrying out social work. It may also be accompanied by a too ready acceptance of right intention as an excuse for shoddy service. God has given man

understanding and conscience. Consequently he expects him to assume the responsibilities of his human condition in an intelligent way.

These errors being set aside, it is possible to get a better view of what the Church is trying to do. Secular attempts at social reform emphasise justice almost *ad nauseam*, and can over-emphasise the rights of man. The Church tries to strike a balance between rights and duties. It fosters not only justice, but also charity, the charity in particular of the spiritual and corporal works of mercy, which are the fruit of our brotherhood in Christ. The role of Church and State in social action is frequently seen in the wrong light, as though they had to work in opposition, or as if peaceful co-existence were the best that could be hoped for. The right and the duty of the State is to foster the development of human society on the natural level by helping and co-ordinating the efforts of individual citizens and of voluntary organisations which work for the betterment of human society. It should also take upon itself those tasks which individuals and voluntary effort cannot perform. The right and duty of the Church is, through the exercise of justice and charity, to help build a human society in which man can attain as perfectly as possible his natural and supernatural goal in co-operation with the State and all other individual or collective efforts. It is therefore unfortunate that sometimes rivalry replaces the spirit of cordial co-operation which should exist not only towards the State, but also towards the efforts of those international organisations whose proper field is the betterment of society. Thus energies are dissipated in the multiplication of identical functions.

The Christian, by vocation a member of the Church, by nature a member of society, must take his place in both correspondingly. His spirit must be that of the Church, his mind the mind of Christ, and his actions a furtherance of the fruitful life of the Mystical Body. His achievements must be an extension of Christ's conquest—not only of sin, but of disorder, darkness and discouragement. This leads directly to the layman's role in the Church's Social Action. It should be evident now that Catholic Action and Social Action are not identical or commensurate. By Catholic Action we generally mean lay participation in the apostolate proper, in the pastoral ministry which is primarily supernatural both in aim and effect. We should confine the term

"lay apostle" to this meaning. Social Action refers to activities primarily directed to changes on the natural level, to the improvement of society first, and only indirectly to the improvement of the individual soul; to the realisation in man's environment of that right order which is conducive to a good Christian way of life. Pope Pius XII clearly defined the Social Action of the Church and the particular role which the layman has to play in it, in his allocution to the Cardinals of 20 February 1946:

The Church may not remain enclosed and inactive in the seclusion of her shrines, abandoning the charge confided to her by divine providence—the formation of the whole man, and hereby her unceasing collaboration in the achievement of a firm foundation of society. Seen in this light we may say that the Church is the association of those people who, under the supernatural influence of grace, in the perfection of their personal dignity as sons of God and the harmonious development of all their human faculties and inclinations, build the strong framework of human society.

From this angle, Venerable Brethren, the faithful, particularly laypeople, are in the forefront of the Church's life; through them the Church is the vital principle of human society. Consequently they, and they especially, must be increasingly more aware, not only of belonging to the Church, but of being the Church . . . the communion of the faithful on earth under the direction of their sovereign head the Pope, of the Bishops in union with him.

We have to bear in mind that the layman has his own position in society and in the Church. From this, as I said earlier, arises his responsibility and his activity. This is not something supererogatory; every Christian can and must be active. Though not all are trained, nearly all have received confirmation. For practical reasons, active Catholics of the present day must include a trained *élite*, chosen for their capability, trained to competence and distinguished by tact "without which they would do more harm than good."¹

Society is a complex organism, a domestic, public, economic and political structure. The members of society have relationships in all these spheres, and may have special competence, and consequently assume larger responsibilities in one or another of these spheres. Man has rights and also duties in society. From the Church he expects and receives guidance and help proportionate

¹ Pius XII.

to his requirements, as he receives grace. And because society is compounded largely of material elements, because its development or civilisation depends largely on progress in the discovery and utilisation of known and unknown resources, the Church has her share and interest in this command, increase, multiply and possess the earth. Each member of the Church, even a hermit or contemplative, can only be saved by adopting a positive attitude towards society. In the words of Cardinal Gracias: "The individual and the social are two facets of the same perfection . . . [and] the Christian cannot sanctify himself, much less sanctify others, by a mystical escape from the social order." Inside society in its civic aspect the layman is at home, is in his proper sphere and has peculiar competence.

The clergy too has to play its role in social action; but it is a different role, and its competence is in a separate sphere. The priest or religious is the spiritual leader. His office is advisory at the spiritual, not the technical, level. If he should be one of those who have specialist knowledge in what is properly the layman's sphere, he has special competence as a consultant; but his true role is in the affairs of the spirit. His is the duty to know and elaborate social doctrine as doctrine, to advise on its practical application, to restate continually the primacy of the supernatural over the natural. But his place is not in the home, nor in the market-place, nor in the workshop, the hospital, or the council-chamber, except for very special reasons in very special circumstances.

A reference to professional responsibility and integrity is appropriate here. A good Christian must first of all be a good man or woman. Christian perfection can only be achieved and the Christian vocation fulfilled, inside a person's natural calling, whether this is a manual or intellectual function. And the Christian's aim must be perfection both in things natural and supernatural. Ideally, Catholic Social Action is exercised inside this calling, but because of the present-day need for training leaders as an *élite*, they may be required to undertake activities in other fields. By workers in Catholic Action groups we do not mean every Christian whatever his way of life. We restrict the term to those who dedicate all or part of their activity to the Church's work, acquiring the required competence and accepting a mandate and a place in the organisation. This is not intended as a salute

to organisation. We are all aware that frequently it is fostered at the expense of action.

When we apply these ideas to present-day Africa we see that there are three principal problems. We shall deal with them in what seems to be their order of importance. There is such a thing as an African way of life, nebulous as it may seem to many; there is an African philosophy, difficult as it may be to formulate. Modern (mainly) Western civilisation has made an impact on it. At present there is a struggle for the integration of these two forces and systems. And the Church is involved. It has long been realised by missionaries that elements of the ancient cultures could be adopted and assimilated by Christianity. Due to misunderstanding the choice has not always been wise. Many were condemned and discarded without, as we now see, sufficient reason. It might be thought that the educated African of to-day could easily explain and recover what can be salvaged of the ancient traditions; but this is not so. There is both an unwillingness to delve into the past, and a feeling that what is not Western is not civilised. One great thing stands out, however: a basic feeling for spiritual values. This has in fact facilitated the missionary work in many regions. In others it has suffered to a greater or lesser degree from the impact of our materialist Western culture. To understand this, we must try to realise how far in the Western world the idea of providence and divine solicitude for man has given way to a view of progress and enlightenment as man's greatest achievement. The world of sense and its satisfactions has usurped the place formerly given, and still accorded in most oriental philosophies, to the realm of spirit, its power and its fulfilment. Basically it is a question of balance, a balance that Christianity has the means to restore and maintain.

There are other traditions and institutions to be considered and utilised where possible. Tribalism as such is doomed, but its positive social values should not be lost. Moreover society cannot be reformed overnight. Something of the past must remain as a foundation for transition, to be adapted and transformed by contact with the best in Western civilisation.

With to-day's upsurge of nationalism and the pursuit, praiseworthy in itself, of an improved standard of living, it is obvious that secularism has ideal conditions for growth. The Church in

Africa is in a strong position to make her voice heard and her influence felt, having favoured and fostered in most regions of Africa the constitutional movement and other development projects, and indeed having pioneered many of them. The action of the Church, however, is no more than the action of her members, and in the social field trained Africans are very few indeed. It follows that for a time at least social action in Africa will need the advice and expert practical help of dedicated laymen from overseas who will offer their services for a longer or shorter period wherever they can be used. But they should never forget that they must come out to Africa in a spirit of service to help the Africans to build their own society, and particularly to train their African successors. There is no doubt that on the score of the two problems already mentioned, instability in the social structure, nascent materialism and secularism, the presence of such collaborators can be of paramount importance. They represent a higher culture than that around them. They have made the sacrifice of many material benefits for a higher motive than is naturally explicable. Their Christian outlook is a powerful antidote to what we must admit is the frequently regrettable influence of immigrants in other walks of life. But not only by their example of Christian living do they make their contribution. Each has special competence and can demonstrate in the nascent African society where his or her work is arranged, a professional probity that the Africans need to learn.

For hitherto society in Africa existed in well-defined strata. Each member had a definite position and a traditional role and responsibility. Whether it entailed moral considerations is nowadays of little import. In most regions that society is no longer there, and what the society will be to-morrow has not yet been made clear. The danger of to-day is rampant individualism and there is great need for a demonstration of dedicated co-operation. Primarily, then, our task is to promote professional and social responsibility in the mass of educated Africans, the leaders of tomorrow. From them this spirit may permeate society; and this requires training and guidance from the Church, which has a far more variegated and intimate approach than any government agency. This is the proper field of social workers. Young families trying to improve both their material and spiritual standards, need advice on conjugal relations, on education and health, on

housecraft and budgeting. New organisations of workers require instruction and leadership in union movements and in employer-employee relations. Contractual labour (which is a novelty), the economics of the working-day and the working-wage, planning for healthy leisure activities—to all these questions our social workers can make a contribution. It is rather the means to eliminate than to relieve misery and discontent that is required. Reference has already been made to the need for Catholic influence at the political level. In Africa there is an urgent need for an example of probity, moderation, tolerance and the spirit of co-operation in politics.

Underdeveloped countries, including those in Africa, are frequently referred to as the "have-nots" as distinguished from the "haves." The easy, but not the constructive remedy is the "hand-out" and the multiplication of controls: the substitution of governmental for personal responsibility. In the early stages it is certainly necessary for the state to assume responsibilities which are proper, in a developed society, to the individual, or to the domestic and municipal. Again it is a question of balance. We of the old world are familiar with the welfare state and can react to its exaggerations. Not so the untrained African citizen. Balance is needed and again we must be prudent and restrained; the first social action of the Christian is co-operation, where that is possible, with the state, and not, as is sometimes assumed, opposition to perfectly satisfactory governmental activities.

In our own time the task of the African Catholic laity under Divine Providence is to help build a new Africa on the principles of justice and charity taught by the Church. Faithful to their African heritage they will perform this task with the help of the disinterested services of social workers from overseas, and in a spirit of co-operation with all men of goodwill.

Two important articles, "Lesson from the Congo" by the Rev. G. Mosmans, W.F., and "Economics and Population" by Miss M. R. Haswell, are unavoidably held over until the November number of THE MONTH.

AFRICAN STUDENTS ABROAD

By

JOHN L. COONAN

EDUCATION has perhaps been the greatest single factor in the evolution of modern Africa. This education was begun by the missionaries from the West, fulfilling a traditional role of the Church. It was Western in character and Christian in spirit, and contained within itself the seeds of that nationalism which is without doubt the strongest force in Africa to-day. For, as Mr. Christopher Dawson has pointed out, the nationalism of Africa and Asia is essentially an educational movement, having its origin in the student class which had unbounded faith in the value of Western education. The students who were trained in Europe and America or under Western teachers at home, became converts not only in many cases to Christianity, but also in larger numbers and more intensely, to the Western way of life, and apostles of Western political and social ideas. Thus in Africa, as in Asia, the paradoxical situation arises that nationalism, though apparently anti-European, has in fact been the chief agent for the spread of European ideas. This process of education cannot be safely limited to primary and secondary stages. The Belgian Congo is an example of what happens when it is. Education must necessarily include higher education of all kinds, and where this cannot be found at home it will be sought abroad. The exodus of students from Africa seeking higher education overseas will continue, therefore, until there are enough institutions of higher education in Africa to satisfy the local demand, and this will not be in the foreseeable future. In the past ten years the number of such students has increased fourfold and there is no sign that the peak has yet been reached.

There are no exact statistics to hand about the number of African students in the U.S.A. or on the continent of Europe. It

is roughly estimated that there are between three and four thousand in America. In France there is a much larger number organised into a variety of different groups, mainly on a regional basis. The Catholics amongst them have an organisation of their own, *Union des Étudiants Catholiques Africains*, which is ten years old this year and runs its own periodical, *Tam Tam*. In Germany, overseas students in general number one in ten of the student population, but relatively few of these are Africans. Most German Universities have a few, from two or three to twenty, but there is a growing number of Nigerians and Ghanians, some two to three hundred in each case. In Belgium, Austria, Italy and Spain there is a sprinkling of African students and a growing interest in their welfare. The country which has perhaps the largest number of overseas students in general, and of Africans in particular, is the United Kingdom. It has also, as far as can be discovered, the most highly organised system for the reception and general welfare of such students, in which the Government through the British Council co-operates with the voluntary and Church organisations. During the academic year 1959-60 there were 47,000 overseas students in the United Kingdom of whom all, except a few thousand, were from Africa and Asia, and 27,000 of whom resided in the London area. Of this total of 47,000, 12,240 were from Africa, their countries of origin being as follows:

Basutoland	20	Liberia	70
Bechuanaland	10	Libya	65
British Cameroons	10	Nigeria	6,000
Congo	5	Northern Rhodesia	120
Egypt	250	Portuguese West Africa	2
Ethiopia	1	Sierra Leone	620
Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	50	Somali Republic	130
French Cameroons	4	Southern Rhodesia	230
French East Africa	2	Sudan	250
French West Africa	4	Swaziland	4
Gambia	110	Tanganyika	500
Ghana	1,840	Togoland	1
Kenya	1,030	Uganda	910

These figures refer to full-time students attending recognised courses and do not include part-time students of whom there

is a substantial but unknown number. The full-time students are divided into a relatively few scholarship-students supported for the most part by their own Governments, plus a few British Council scholarships and scholarships from other sources, and a very large number of private students supported by their own people. All the former and most of the latter are "recommended" as having the necessary qualifications and finance for their course of study, and can take advantage of the services provided by their national student-units and the British Council. Part-time students are not eligible for these services and are in other ways discouraged from coming because of the difficulties of their situation, difficulties to which they often succumb.

"The London Conference on Overseas Students" is a permanent body concerned with the reception and general welfare of such students in the London area, though many of the organisations represented on it are national in scope. Some sixteen representatives of various interests are on the central committee of this conference including the Colonial Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office, the British Council and the Catholic Church. On the General Committee some forty-six other groups are represented. Similar organisations have been set up outside London in other parts of the country. In co-operation with these organisations and on their own account, the Catholics endeavour to obtain information about prospective students, meet them on arrival, arrange where possible for Catholic accommodation and organise hospitality. The students are also put in touch with Catholic life in their place of study and residence. Through student national societies and international groups in various parts of London and the country, religious, cultural and social gatherings are organised, with a view to helping the students to participate in the local Catholic life and to preserve and strengthen their faith, and prepare themselves for their eventual return as educated Catholic lay men and women to their own lands.

All scholarship and full-time recommended students of whom notice is received, are met on arrival by the British Council and accommodation for a night or so is provided where necessary. Lists of lodgings are also available from which permanent accommodation, in houses previously inspected, can be obtained. In spite of these arrangements, arrival in England can be an unpleasant experience for the students. Many of them have

looked forward with intense eagerness, perhaps from early childhood, to coming to this country. Inevitably they have built up a picture of the country in their minds which bears little relation to the facts. It is their dream land and at Liverpool Street Station they find the reality. Not surprisingly, disappointment is their first reaction. This first disappointment is deepened for many by contact with the people. The lack of warmth in the social climate adds another dimension to the chill of the weather. England and especially London has probably the coldest social climate in the world, and these students come from the warmest. The silent railway carriages and bus queues, the general attitude of "no enthusiam" where relations with others are concerned, strike a chill into their hearts. Not understanding it, they do not see the often genuine concern for the freedom of others upon which it is based, leading to reserve and a reluctance to intrude on others' privacy. It could also be interpreted as a cold hostility and a selfish indifference to the needs and existence of others.

Most students experience rebuffs, sometimes imaginary often real, because of their colour. It may be that sitting in a bus, an African finds that the seat next to him remains unoccupied until no other seat is vacant or not occupied even then. He may notice an embarrassed reluctance in those to whom he is introduced, or an over-enthusiasm usually reserved for greeting small children. It is, however, when the African student is seeking accommodation that this prejudice is most strongly expressed. Notices saying "No Africans," "No Coloured," or hurriedly invented and transparently false excuses, are the routine experiences of Africans seeking lodgings on their own and of those seeking it for them. There is no evidence to show that in this matter the Catholic body is any different from the rest of the country. Although there are individual exceptions, existing evidence tends to show that they are if anything more prejudiced than other groups.

The African student thinks of these islands as one of the sources from which Christianity came to Africa, and he expects England to show some external signs of being a Christian country. He does not see them in the streets and public places of the large cities. By contrast with his own country, religion as such is much less present in the general life of the country. If he is a non-Christian this is perhaps the only impression he will get. If he is a non-Catholic Christian and goes to church the chances are

he will find it half-empty. He notices also that the standards of behaviour in public are not those of his own country. The public freedom of the relationship between the sexes, which would not be possible in his own country, leads him to jump to the conclusion that here the moral standards generally are lower than in fact is the case. For these and other reasons he sometimes concludes that Christianity is for export only. When a Catholic African goes to Mass, especially in the big cities, although the Mass is the same as at home, the atmosphere can be very different. In his own country Mass is a social occasion. People gather before and linger afterwards. The stranger is noticed, greeted and welcomed. In the average parish church of the cities of this country this does not happen. The congregation is a collection of individuals rather than a worshipping community. No one takes any notice of the stranger and he feels alone and unwanted in the one situation, perhaps, in which he expected to be at home. Morally and religiously the great danger for the African student in this country arises from the fact that he is not adequately prepared for life here. To prepare people living in one environment for life in another is probably impossible. In general the African student will tend to have a catechetical knowledge of his faith but its intellectual content will not be very great. He will not, for instance, usually know much about scripture or the social teaching of the Church—two dangerous gaps. His faith, in many cases very real, is a personal faith limited to his private life, he does not realise its implications in the social, political, economic, cultural and professional spheres. From the apostolic point of view he does not feel much obligation to lead others to the faith, he feels that is the job of the clergy. His own career apart, his great passion is the national independence of his country and in most cases, rightly or wrongly, he does not associate the Church with any positive encouragement in this matter. From the moral point of view, apart from the post-Christian atmosphere in which he finds himself here, his great danger is the absolute personal freedom of life here to which he is not accustomed and which may tend to go to his head. If we add to this the many positive temptations and allurements with which he is surrounded, it will be clear that a great deal of moral stamina is called for. In spite of all this, as far as can be ascertained, most of those who were real Catholics on arrival go back better Catholics, most of

those who were not good Catholics go back worse or without their faith, and many of those who tend to go with the swim, cease to practise their religion here but pick it up again on returning home.

The academic difficulties of the African student arise mainly from his not being prepared for the course he wishes to follow, and to different teaching methods from those at home. Many come unprepared for the high standards and for the competition they find. This may add to the length of their course and cause financial difficulties. Many are not used to a system which leaves them much more to their own devices in the routine of learning than is the custom at home. This causes them to worry a great deal about their studies and increases the ever-present dread of failure in examinations. Again, many chose a subject of study—or have it chosen for them by their parents—which bears no relation to their real bent. They realise this after a time and try to change. This causes difficulties at home, where the subject may have been chosen for prestige or economic reasons, and lengthens their time here. Some of the part-time and non-recommended students come with few qualifications and little ability and have correspondingly great difficulties in academic and financial matters. Nursing, Law, Engineering, Technology and Medicine seem to attract the largest numbers, while very many are doing practical training of various kinds. In granting scholarships the home Governments try to stimulate the courses they feel are more necessary for the good of the country. Thus very few scholarships are given for Law as most African countries feel they have too many lawyers already. The motives with which the overwhelming majority of African students come to study can be seen in the following quotation from an African source. Dayo Olugboji in *The Problem of Nigerian Students*, writes: "Going overseas . . . is the fulfilment of one of life's most cherished ambitions; it is a dream come true. For when the battle is fought and won, the student returns as a member of the upper bracket socially and economically, as one of those who shape the destiny of the nation, the boast of his family and the pride of the locality." This is understandable in newly emerging countries, and a more vocational, cultural and disinterested approach to education will come, but it is important that it should come fairly soon.

If a student enjoying a government scholarship has financial

difficulties they are usually of his own making. His grant is designed to cover the expenses he will have to meet and has been increased several times to keep pace with rising costs. Other students are haunted by the fear of financial crisis. As already mentioned, their courses may be prolonged through lack of qualifications or for other reasons, and money meant for three years will have to be stretched to cover four or five. The people at home not infrequently fail to send the promised allowance. Sometimes without explanation or warning the source of support just dries up. Sometimes the allowance is sent at irregular intervals, but landlords have to be paid in advance, as do fees, and the student has to try and raise the money as best he can. Some look for jobs, but these are increasingly difficult to get. Others sink their capital in property and buy a house which they let out to fellow students. But these houses, besides being a constant distraction because of the care and attention they need, often fail to supply the income the student requires. They are frequently condemned houses not well managed or very insalubrious and the charges are too high. Other students therefore tend to fight shy of them.

When the student has overcome all his difficulties, received his degrees or diplomas and is ready to return home, his difficulties are not necessarily at an end. He is faced with the problem of readjustment on return. He has been away from Africa for anything from three to seven years and he has changed in outlook, in tastes and in habits to a degree that he may not realise until he gets home. While he has been away Africa has also changed; the pace of development is often breath-taking. He may find that the work he is qualified to do is not now in such great demand as when he left home; the prestige of returned students will have diminished owing to their numbers. Above all he may have acquired tastes and habits which have to be given up or modified to adjust to his home circumstances. This is especially true of those who are married and whose wives have not accompanied them overseas.

The difficulties of the students have been stressed because for them they loom large and because it is all too easy to suppose they have no difficulties and all is well. Some unfortunates have them all, and all have some. The majority however pull through, get their degrees and return. Some go back with bitter memories

which colour their whole personal attitude to the West, others with a philosophical acceptance of their hardships and no grudges borne. Some who appear to have had a trying time here and not to have been very happy, change their attitude when they get home and look back with a certain nostalgia to their time here. Others return with the memory of a happy time and many friendships made and kindnesses given and received. A few become so integrated here that they do not wish to return. That is a tragedy of another kind, first for the country which sent them to train but sometimes also for themselves. In the new Africa these returned students will not all become leaders, but, by and large, they will constitute the professional and ruling group, the opinion-forming group in the community. What they as a whole think on any particular issue will be a material if not a determining factor in what is done, they will have an influence on the tone of society and the standards that are set in professional and national life. Their importance both in themselves and in the new Africa is the measure of our responsibility towards them while they are here.

AFRICA THROUGH AMERICAN EYES

By

NEIL G. McCLUSKEY

THE REASONS why American interest in Africa awoke somewhat tardily are simple. Until comparatively recent years the six European countries that had interests in the African continent also had large signs prominently displayed: "Strangers: Keep Out!" American eyes and American dollars quite naturally looked elsewhere, especially to the neighbouring continent to the south of them. Latin America was second only to Europe as a market for U.S. products, in 1958 taking twenty-six per cent of

all American commercial exports. Timbuktu and Nairobi remained symbols of a fabled unknown world of adventure while Caracas, São Paulo, Mexico City, and even the major cities of the Far East, became familiar in the U.S.A. In fact there was no separate Africa desk in the State Department's organisation. African affairs were scrupulously channelled through Britain, France, Belgium, Portugal, Italy and Spain, the nations that had colonies on the black continent. A joint Middle East-Africa desk finally came into being a mere decade ago.

To-day, of course, all this has changed. The impressive African section now occupies several long corridors of offices in the State Department. Many of the great universities have well-structured African institutes. A dozen new organisations for promoting African culture, trade, student exchange and friendship have sprung up, and older ones have taken on new respectability. America has discovered that it had more than a spectator interest in Africa's rush to bridge the centuries and to join the family of modern nations. Profound reasons suddenly emerged why the American people should have a deep sympathy toward this old land shaking itself loose from centuries of stagnation. There was the natural bond. After all, ten per cent of the American people—some eighteen millions—are of African descent. The feelings that stirred Americans of Irish ancestry while Ireland was struggling for nationhood or Americans of Jewish blood during the birth of modern Israel—these same feelings began to stir in the hearts of many American Negroes. This represented a marked change in attitude, for until native leadership and the new countries of Africa began to be taken seriously in the world, the American Negro resented any reference to his background. He wanted full acceptance as an American citizen uncomplicated by implications of jungle origin.

Perhaps, too, the new encouraging smile which white America directs towards modern Africa is subconsciously inspired in part by certain shameful pages in America's book of race relations with consequent yearnings to make some amends. There may be a kindred motive, that by a loud clucking of the tongue over the glaring racial shortcomings of European settlers in Southern and East Africa, the American can somehow distract himself from his own unsolved race problems in the Southern States and certain metropolitan areas of the East and Mid-west.

The American is quickly acquiring a sophistication about foreign matters that was absent during most of the Dulles years of Cold-War diplomacy. There are some notable illusions and misconceptions about Africa that he is in the process of overcoming. Americans, perhaps more than the peoples of other countries of the West, have a tendency to look upon the apparatus of democracy as a sacrament, a mystical something with power to work by itself apart from the instincts and attitudes of a people grown to some level of political maturity. The march of events in the new nations of Asia and Africa has demonstrated that the ballot box, a parchment constitution and an elected assembly have nowhere by themselves created a full-blown democracy.

The political reality is simply that the tide of African nationalism is sweeping along at full crest and is threatening to carry before it the careful timetables and orderly procedures devised by the European colonial Powers to prepare the Africans for self-government. Nationalism, as has been well said, is the basic fact of political life everywhere on the continent with the exception of the Portuguese and Spanish territories. Whether the colonising powers should have capitulated to African importuning for independence has become an idle question. To-day, only planes and tanks could contain the tide, a grim alternative hardly whispered outside the Union of South Africa. An allied army forcing the white man's political will upon Africa would divide the world for generations. Every man of colour on the globe would be born an enemy of a hated white race, already a minority in the world. The lesson of the Belgian experience in Africa is not that independence should not have been given to the Congolese, but that it should not have been given so precipitously and without adequate preparation.

Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, however, complained bitterly to this writer last autumn about the irresponsibility of England, France and Belgium in their surrender to black nationalism. To run from a civilising task half-done is cowardice, he said. Many settler leaders in Africa agree with Sir Roy's assumptions that the white man has a moral responsibility toward the betterment of the native, and that the African's immediate needs are of the economic order. Those of this mind are convinced that for the six million Europeans (including the one-half of this total in

the Union of South Africa) to surrender political control to the 165 million natives means abandoning these African masses to the tyranny of their own people as well as inviting the destruction of the fruits of the white man's genius and industry.

The American listener would have sympathy for this viewpoint and would agree that solid grounds exist for this dual concern, but he would grasp more quickly than his European friend the critical point: The African no longer wants to be "the white man's burden." In fact, the African is no longer willing to accept the white man in Africa on the old terms. He is ready, though, to suffer exploitation and oppression—if needs be—provided these come from his own. He is prepared to let his country be run by political bullies and incompetents, provided they are black like himself. He is willing to forgo the white man's economic help and to stay hungry, if the price of a fuller stomach is continued subservience to European authority. The words of Ghana's Prime Minister, Kwame Nkrumah, inscribed on the pedestal of his statue in the centre of Accra, are Africa's answer to the Sir Roy Welensky's: "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added thereunto."

Innocent of a colonialist tradition, an American observer might also more readily understand another point, namely, that the drive for African nationalism is more a matter of gaining independence than freedom. "Independence" for the African mind is an uncomplicated concept. In its simplest terms it means the end of domination by the European *Bwana* or master. It is not that the *Bwana* should go. In fact, once independence is gained, the white man normally can continue to exert influence in a new advisory role. This is what happened in Ghana. But Africanisation calls for an African to be sitting at the big desk out front and to be addressed with some sonorous title, even though he would not dream of dispensing with the European consultant seated at a smaller desk in a side office.

Individual freedom in Africa, on the other hand, has always been a rare commodity. The ordinary African enjoyed small freedom within the ancient tribal organisation of society. He has not been aware of any larger freedom under the white man's rule, with the result that he is not particularly impressed by warnings that he will lose his freedom once his own leaders come to power. While it is true that the spread of education and the move to the

city have weakened the feudal agrarian structure, in many areas of the continent men continue to serve the chief or family head with the same absolute homage that existed before the arrival of the European. Just what political convictions the ordinary villager has, and how interested or independent he is in expressing them, are not much more relevant in twentieth-century Africa than they were in fourteenth-century England.

How ready is the African to govern himself? Americans are beginning to appreciate that the answer is not simple. Personal initiative and the assumption of responsibility are not conspicuous so far among the new class of African public servants: the trappings of office and the emoluments that accrue to the officeholder are. Venality, dullness and incompetence are not yet serious hindrances to an opening or advancement in a public career, especially when these traits are compensated for by a towering idealism. At times the visitor to one of the new nations sees in the cabinet of ministers the typical student council of schoolboys—the same earnestness and enthusiasm along with the same comic lapses from responsibility. The ideal of public service is often magnificently realised at the highest level of office, but the dedication of the few leaders on the top rung is not widely imitated by the bulk of their subordinates.

Corruption is cheerfully tolerated. The “dash” is a venerable institution throughout much of Africa. Almost no service can be expected, from a simple visa stamp at the police station to an intravenous feeding in a government hospital, without a monetary consideration or dash. Even your confirmed airline reservation may be found out of order ten minutes before boarding unless a five-shilling dash finds its way to the right hand. At the cabinet level only proportions differ. Perhaps the marvel is that, despite the universal laxity, so many serious officials are to be found.

What is unnerving to many observers is that everywhere on the continent Africans are in such a hurry. A visit to a remote village in the steamy Upper Volta country or in the cool mountains of Ruanda-Urundi reveals a stone-age crudeness of living that defies description. But the spirit of the new Africa has penetrated here, too. The young people particularly are on the move. Out of the bush they come, heading for the cities. They exchange a hut and a hoe for a tenement and a wage, and become

a part of the undigested urban masses of Dakar, Leopoldville, Salisbury or Johannesburg. Only two of them in ten can read or write, and probably half of the ten will live on a bare subsistence level. These are the people upon whom nationalist leaders are attempting to build a mid-twentieth-century democracy. No gradual evolution will there be for Africa: the continent is leaping from the dark ages into the nuclear age. Africa wills independence and popular democracy, and Africa is hungry for the material benefits that an advanced political status brings. This tremendous eagerness explains in great part the African attraction to Marxist socialism.

It is humbling for many Americans to realise that the African has no natural leaning toward the ideology of the West. For long centuries Africa lay undisturbed by European culture. The natives' most forceful introduction to the white man's civilisation was not to its moral and religious philosophy but rather to its inhumane economic base. In view of the black man's experience as a chattel in the white economy, he can be excused for a lack of enthusiasm over the free enterprise system. Again, the religions of Africa—animism, fetishism or even Islam—have not conditioned the native to appreciate what is so basic to the Judeo-Christian theory of life and basic to democracy, that is, the personal dignity and transcendent worth of the individual man or woman or child. The cinema and the illustrated periodical, the shopping emporium and the free-spending visitor, however, have taught the African more about our economics than our philosophy, have impressed him more with our standard of living than with its spiritual support. And though the material prosperity of Western countries is much admired (and envied), the ordinary African leader casting about for the most efficacious means of raising his people from the bush life, in all likelihood is going to find a non-Western collectivist approach to his problems the alluring one.

A decade ago, certainly twenty years ago, the socialist orientation and neutralist sentiment in most of the new African states would have precipitated a *crise de conscience* for the American people and made it highly questionable how far the hand of friendship might have been extended. Perhaps it is the new political sophistication or simply an increased awareness that the West has no real alternative, but in any event, it can be predicted

that during the years immediately ahead the American nation and its leaders will more and more encourage the African nations in their efforts to secure firm political independence and will assist them substantially in developing an economy needed to raise the standard of living for their peoples.

THE UNION AND APARTHEID

WHEN WORLD WAR II ENDED and the troops came streaming back from "up North," South Africa began sizing up what had been happening to her during the years of conflict. One striking development was the shanty town. All important industrial centres had acquired satellite townships—acres and acres of crowded shacks housing the African workers of the new industries. The Smuts Government appointed a commission to investigate the urban African. Had he come to stay? For decades South Africa had been pretending that he had not; that the African belonged to the reserves and the farms and came to town only for irregular periods as a migrant labourer. This commission, the Fagan Commission, reported that there was no point in maintaining the pretence any further. The African was part of the South African city.

This was an admission of startling significance. As long as the African could be considered a rural dweller migrating to the city periodically for odd jobs, South Africa could continue its internal colonialism, maintaining the master-servant relationship on a racial basis. But once the African had been recognised as a permanent urban dweller, the fiction of internal colonialism could no longer be maintained. The African belonged to the urbanised, industrialised population. He was no longer merely an outside occasional aid to the South African economy, he was an essential and permanent part of it.

The Afrikaner was quick to sense the implications of this. His instinct for survival, sharpened to the highest pitch by a century and a half of struggle against Britain and the Bantu, reacted vigorously against this threat to his race and nation. The Nationalist Party went into the election of 1948 shouting the battle-cry of Apartheid. Literally the word means separateness. Practically it meant domination, White domination—political, economic, cultural. The emergence of the urban African was a mortal threat to the Afrikaner nation. The nation, in terms of the supreme law of self-preservation, took the action it deemed necessary, and now the African giant south of the Limpopo lies roped to the ground by a thousand paralysing laws that bind his every activity and aspiration.

There was nothing fundamentally new about Apartheid. Segregation had long been established as the practical social philosophy of South Africa. It had already inspired much discriminatory legislation. But a new word was necessary to symbolise the additional drive necessary to meet the threat of the urbanised African. Under the banner of Apartheid Parliament did everything short of abolishing the right of non-Whites to life and fresh air. English-speaking South Africans generally acquiesced, for it was the same mixture as before—only stronger. Occasionally, however, an Apartheid measure had wider constitutional repercussions. Then the English speakers fought back in parliamentary debate and public protest, only to lose every battle. And the process moves inexorably on.

But 1960 is not 1950. Ten years have seen an incredible transformation in Africa and a growing sensitiveness to colour discrimination in the world at large. Nationalists do not talk about Apartheid now. The word fairly reeks. The great slogan now is separate development. The White man must remain. He must retain his identity. The Afrikaner nation must not perish from the earth. But these noble objectives must be achieved in strict accordance with justice, with the recognition of African aspirations—in his own areas, along his own lines, under his own political system, according to his own cultural evolution. In vain you look for the areas, the lines, the system, the culture. There is despair in your heart when you realise that the political leaders of South Africa maintain an unrelenting pretence that these words mean something and that serious political programmes are to be woven around them. Whom the gods would destroy. . . .

Sharpeville was a terrible symbol. It crystallised world opinion against South Africa. Finance is falling off. Ships are returning to South African harbours with their boycotted cargoes. Unemployment is growing. The powerful, influential trade unions in Great Britain and America are beginning to rumble ominously. Airports throughout Africa may soon be closed to us. Cultural and sporting bodies are beginning to look down their noses at us. We have been warned that if we become a republic, as we look like doing, the Commonwealth may not accept us. Within a short time we may be in the throes of a calamitous economic crisis. And when an economic misery even greater than that which endemically affects the non-Whites of South Africa, aggravated by job-reservation, is added to the misery of political humiliation, God preserve us from the Sharpevilles to come.

Will Afrikaner nationalism yield gracefully under the strain or will it go down in a fierce and flaming catastrophe? One would like to entertain the hope that industry and commerce may be strong enough to force a change of direction. But we are dealing with that same indomitable Afrikaner spirit that continued fighting the Boer

War long after it was lost and has been fighting it ever since. Such courage deserves a noble cause. Afrikaner nationalism would be as noble a cause as the British or American or Irish or French variety but for the disastrous accident of history that permits Afrikaner nationalism to flourish only over the bent backs and bowed heads of the South African non-White population. Nationalism does not easily acquiesce in extinction, whether it be British or Irish, American, or French or Afrikaner. Yet the only just solution of South Africa's problems means the acceptance by Boer and Briton, Bantu, Coloured and Indian of common nationhood and a single society.

At this stage it looks humanly impossible. Men have always found it extremely difficult to love other men just because they are men. It has been much easier to love a man because he is a Jew and not a Gentile, a Greek and not a Barbarian, a Christian and not a Moslem, a Protestant and not a Catholic, an Englishman and not a Frenchman, White and not Black. The whole world knows the guilt of this limited love that leads men to mistake the tribe for the human race. But no country in the world contains quite so many reasons for making that mistake as South Africa. If human understanding or economic pressure cannot induce us to change our ways, our future lies in a police state, or a brief period of grim tension followed by economic collapse and social anarchy, or intervention by the United Nations. It is time for much prayer and penance. And every country that ever indulged in narrow nationalism could don the sack-cloth with us. For they are wood of the same tree that has produced our bitter fruit.

✠ DENIS E. HURLEY
Archbishop of Durban

FEDERATION AND PARTNERSHIP

THE PEOPLE who ought to know, the statesmen, politicians, economists, industrialists and the rest, tell us that the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland is the best thing by far for those countries. The statesmen think of it as a good form of British or even Western political *bloc* in this part of the world. They may even regard it as a block, in the sense of a barrier, between the African countries of the north and the mixed communities of the south. In their opinion, the Federation could be a half-way house, a meeting place, where the hot-headed African nationalists could learn to live with the liberal European. The politicians probably agree that federation is the only protection against the disease of dismemberment which is sweeping other parts of the continent. The economists dream of the labour force of densely populated Nyasaland developing the riches of the

Copperbelt and the broad acres of Southern Rhodesia. Meanwhile, the industrialists foresee vast markets among a people who are only now beginning to use cups and saucers and chairs and hats and bicycles and radios and all other kinds of consumer goods. They see, too, the near-reality of the cheap power generated by the Kariba Dam and spread over all three countries. All these groups have their own solid reasons for regarding federation as the ideal form of political association for this part of the world. They believe too, quite honestly, that it will in the long run benefit not only the European but also the African.

The African on the other hand, while he is astute enough to guess at the benefits industrial development may bring him in the years ahead, greatly fears that if Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland evolve as has Southern Rhodesia, the conditions of privilege for the European there may extend to the other two territories and dominate the whole Federation. Consequently, he distrusts the concept completely and holds suspect any plans which seem directed at securing permanent control of Central Africa by the European. The disparities operative in Southern Rhodesia still provide the African majority with their most effective and most valid argument against the whole idea of federation.

"But," say those in authority, "under this new arrangement the different races shall work and live in partnership. See what we have already done: the franchise has been extended, posts hitherto closed to Africans have been opened to them, many discriminatory practices have been abolished by law, all forms of rudeness to Africans have been roundly denounced at official level, additional large sums have been spent on African education, on health, on housing, on land conservation and so on. No one with any knowledge of the country can deny that the African is immeasurably better off than he was ten years ago. Surely this is evidence enough of our good intentions? We cannot change everything overnight. We have a strong and not liberal opposition. If we move too quickly, we might be out of office in the morning."

Obviously the mental attitude of the two principal races must change, if the ideal of partnership on which federation is based, is to be a reality. And, of course, mental attitudes are the hardest things of all to change.

One must realise that the majority of the Europeans in Parliament are much more liberal than their fellows who elected them. Direction and change are coming from the top, not from the electorate. The European voter is, on the whole, not liberal, though he is kind with a sort of paternal kindness. He still thinks of the African as a child who should not sit down on terms of equality with his elders, who should

not speak until spoken to, who should know his place. Unfortunately, there is more to it than this. Due to the success of the British propaganda machine, the press and radio, the minds of the Europeans in Central Africa have been so conditioned to thinking in terms of Britain, that they fail to see Central Africa in its setting in the continent of Africa, and they do not see it at all in its world setting. There is a lack of proportion and a lack of perspective reminiscent of the mentality which believes that all "wogs" begin at Calais and as long as England wins the Test series, God's in His heaven and all's right with the world.

Needless to say, with such an insular and unrealistic outlook, with such narrow nationalistic indoctrination, forty-eight million acres of land in Southern Rhodesia will still remain in the hands of the white minority, while very much less of very much worse land will be allocated to the African majority; State education will still be available to the white child and cost him little, while the African child will still walk up to a hundred miles with his blankets and his books on his head and his school fees in his pocket, looking for a place in school and finding none. We are told that of all the countries in Africa we have the highest percentage of African children at school. This is simply glorified guesswork and must remain so, until there is a register of births and deaths for Africans.

How on earth can one speak honestly of partnership until such disparities disappear? Partnership, if it is to be a reality, must surely mean equality of opportunity. I, for one, firmly believe that if bold steps were taken by the governing powers to provide greater equality in the distribution of land, with, of course, firm powers for its proper conservation, and in educational opportunity for all, the African majority would be perfectly happy to give the idea of federation a fair trial and work in partnership with their European neighbours, but while such glaring disparities remain, how can they reasonably be expected to believe in the sincerity of all the protestations about it?

I think it is true to say that the authorities have every intention of remedying these defects if given the time and the finances necessary. "As soon as the country is thoroughly industrialised," they say, "then we shall have the money to do all we would like to do." But surely this is nonsense? Surely the best hope of industrialising the country is to have the masses literate and peaceful and feeling that they "belong"? Surely education brings hope to fathers and mothers, hope for their children if not for themselves, and with hope, patience? However contradictory it may seem, surely education provides cheap labour? The man who knows what his tools are for and how they should be protected, surely he is the more profitable employee? Quite recently I was assured by no less an authority than Professor Colin Clark that this was the correct order of priorities, and that Japan had become a

great industrial nation because it had tackled the problem of universal primary education first. All this, of course, on the assumption which seems basic to the thinking of those in power in Central Africa, that industrialisation is the first necessity. Give us the time, they say. But will they be given the time? With such insular and extreme nationalist thinking as the Europeans at present manifest, one has serious doubts.

✠ DONAL R. LAMONT

Bishop of Umtali

CATHOLICS AT MAKERERE

THE IMPORTANCE of Makerere, the University College of East Africa, can hardly be exaggerated. It educates the lay men and women who are going to be most influential in the States of Uganda, Kenya and Tanganyika. Of the 881 resident students in 1959-60, some 275 were Catholics, for whom there is no other institution of this educational grade in East Africa. The fact—little appreciated, it would seem, in higher ecclesiastical circles—is that Makerere is one of the most important Catholic centres in Africa. The number of Catholic students there should be compared with the number of 350 students at the Lovanium in the Belgian Congo which is a specifically Catholic institution with a largely ecclesiastical staff; at Makerere, apart from the Catholic Chaplain, there is only a tiny handful of Catholic Lecturers in a Faculty of over one hundred.

The standard of education given to these students is that of the B.A. General, B.A. Honours or B.Sc. at the University of London. The final assessment of marks and grades is made by the Examiners in London, and the distinctions which the students gain are thereby guaranteed to be of a certain standard. These courses of study, it should be noted, are given in English, the only available educational language among the many score of differing tongues in the three territories.

No very startling academic distinctions have yet been gained at Makerere. The minds of the students are, in general, pedestrian, with here and there the promise of originality, spontaneous intelligence and insight. Whether this is an adequate basis for a governing class is obviously debatable, but that the students are going to form a governing class is certain. Of this class, thirty per cent will be Catholic and sixty per cent Protestant, although this does not reflect the actual proportion of the communions to one another. The Catholics ought to preponderate, but the encouragement given to the Catholic laity to assume prominent positions in the new society which is springing up has not hitherto equalled that given to the Protestants. This is a pity, for the Catholic material is in general admirable, if not in

intellectual stature at least in goodwill and personality. The young men and women (very few of the latter are at present at College level, unfortunately) are excellent in attendance at their duties, the gift of Faith accorded to them makes them react to direction and misdirection in spontaneous Catholic ways, and they number among them some of the most delightful characters to be met anywhere.

Tanganyika is on the verge of self-government: Uganda, when its internal and purely indigenous problems can be composed, will also be self-governing, and this prospect also appears to be opening out for Kenya, once the great problem of Kikuyu stability can be solved. Inevitably the direction of government, administration and the professions will fall into the hands of these young people as already the educational system of East Africa has fallen to them to an overwhelming extent. The Catholic Church, still in these territories the Church of the Missions, will be able to operate in the future only in the ways which these new Governments make possible. The relationship between clergy and laity thereby becomes of the utmost importance, especially as it is still very largely a relationship between European clergy and African laity. Tension will inevitably be set up if the modes of necessary clerical authority are expressed in an idiom that seems to recall the idiom of a discarded political authority. There are still only three African Diocesans among the thirty-three Dioceses and Prefectures of East Africa, one of them, however, being the newly created Cardinal of Rutabo in Tanganyika.

It is against this background that the large number of Catholic students at Makerere and the tiny number of Catholic senior staff should be viewed. As in the realm of politics, so in their Catholicism the contingent from Tanganyika seems to be the most active and united. This is due to the influence of an admirable headmaster left in charge of the biggest Catholic Secondary School of the region over a period of years, and to the political tranquillity of Tanganyika in recent decades. This contrasts with the largest contingent from Uganda, the Baganda, who have had the shock of the Kabaka's exile, and with the almost equally large contingent from Kenya, the Kikuyu, with the background of the Mau-Mau emergency and its consequent grave psychological disturbances.

Quietly well-dressed, fluent in English, pleasant in their humour and friendliness, the Catholic students at Makerere come from schools run by Italian, American, English, Dutch, Canadian and German missionaries. At the University College they plunge into a very fair facsimile of the English non-sectarian residential college. African nationalists to a man, they are to emerge into a society whose tensions are the manifestation of the abrupt mingling of European civilisation with the traditional African past. It would be strange indeed if they

did not individually and collectively present considerable problems, but it is consoling to see how their Catholic faith remains an integral part of the life of the majority despite these problems.

The growing interest in and concern for Africa in Catholic circles reflects a universal concern for what is happening in that fascinating continent. The problem can be summed up in general terms; the Europeans, and the Church with them, arrived in Africa with terrible suddenness, and we are now hoping that it is not too late to start taking stock of the profound disturbance caused by that sudden arrival and to begin to apply the remedy. From the Catholic point of view we have two facts to remember, first, that the Catholic community of students is very large and somewhat neglected, and secondly, that we have had now more than sixty years in which to prepare the Catholic laity for the duties which will fall upon them in the new Africa.

PAUL FOSTER

CREDIT UNIONS IN NORTHERN GHANA

The Church goes to the People

UNDER THE DIRECTION of the White Fathers, a Credit Union was established at Jirapa, north-west Ghana, in September 1955 among the Dagarti people, the great majority of whom are illiterate peasant-farmers. To the reader, mention of Ghana (or Gold Coast) instinctively conjures up images of big cities like Accra and Kumasi, of cocoa, gold-mines, diamonds, manganese; but although these things may be plentiful in the Ashanti and the southern regions, they are conspicuously absent in the dry savannah of the northern region. Here the peasant-farmer, like his brother in the neighbouring French Upper Volta, is engaged in scratching a livelihood for himself and his family in very poor and trying conditions, exposed to the vagaries of the rains during the wet season. If the rains are late in coming, it may very easily mean famine in certain areas. Subsistence farming is the order of the day; there is no cash crop cultivated. The burning harmattan blowing from the Sahara in the long dry season puts a stop to all farming, and there is then a mass exodus of the young and able-bodied men to go and look for work down south, in the towns, the mines, or the cocoa farms.

In accordance with the very wise advice of Mgr. Mackinnon of the Antigonish Credit Union centre in Nova Scotia, the first Credit

Union in Ghana was launched after six months' preparation of regular weekly meetings and study groups to educate the parishioners of St. Joseph's Jirapa in the guiding principles of the movement. At the inaugural meeting a Board of Directors was elected by the members. During the preparatory work the members had come to understand that the key man in the whole organisation was the treasurer. They therefore voted unanimously that the Father who had started the idea should be the first treasurer, so as to inspire confidence in the members, until such time as one of their own members would be able to assume this important task. The Father, in his turn, insisted on a vice-treasurer being appointed to help him, since his duties as missionary meant frequent absences from the mission station in treks to the out-stations. In this way he hoped to build up a mutual trust and confidence in one of their own members, and at the same time by this practical demonstration of trust to develop a sense of responsibility in the vice-treasurer.

By the end of the first month there were seventy members with a contributed share capital of £37. One of the first loans approved by the Credit Committee was to help a member settle his marriage dowry, three years overdue, which was causing a great deal of trouble in the two families. Membership went up by leaps and bounds during the first months. People dug up their savings from holes in the ground and other hiding places and brought them along proudly to be put in the Credit Union for the service of the community.

Knowing that the Credit Union, as indeed any co-operative, stands or falls by its educational programme, the Father insisted on a general meeting every six weeks to familiarise the members with the running of the Credit Union, to keep them informed of the growth in members and share capital, to encourage them to voice their complaints and criticisms openly, and above all to awaken them to their own problems and get them to propose their own solutions. Thus it was not long before one of the women members suggested that some of the share capital not out on loan could be used to buy a corn mill. This would help to take some of the drudgery out of the lives of the women and girls, who were so often obliged to spend long hours grinding millet and maize on their primitive grinding stones. This was done, and the shed was put up by communal labour of the members. Within a year that corn mill had paid for itself.

As a result of another suggestion buying clubs were set up, enabling the people to buy their household necessities in bulk, such things as soap, sugar, kerosene, cloth, matches, etc., and so get these goods at much more reasonable prices. Meanwhile this common control of the Union was teaching the people a sense of values, a spirit of self-help and brotherly love, and a spirit of thrift.

It was not long before attention was given to housing conditions. Here is the testimony of one young African: "The Credit Union has changed the lives of our people. It has brought the idea of improved homes. Through it many people have been able to build better houses. In visiting a village last Saturday, I counted twenty-four houses with aluminium roofs. This was unthought of before the advent of the Credit Union."

Some of the more active members compared the introduction of the Credit Union in Jirapa to the advent of the first White Fathers in 1929 bringing the message of Christ. From Jirapa the Gospel had spread throughout the Dagarti tribe, just like one of our dry season bush fires. Why not spread the Credit Union message in the same way? In true Antigonish fashion, this was at once translated into action. It was proposed to observe Mission Sunday, October 1956, as Credit Union Day, and invite delegations from the neighbouring missions, and so spread the good news.

On the actual day, five prominent members spoke on a different aspect of the Credit Union movement to a huge gathering of over one thousand. It is noteworthy that the speakers who met with the greatest applause was a young Dagarti girl who had spoken on the role of women in the community, probably the first time that a woman had ever dared to address such a gathering of men and women in Northern Ghana. There was then an interval for discussion, with the crowd arranged in smaller groups; refreshments in the form of the local millet beer had been provided by the members. Then the crowd reassembled before a temporary stage, where the members put on a play written and produced by themselves to demonstrate, with comic relief, the story and the running of a Credit Union. This was a tremendous success.

Our example proved contagious, and, with the help of Jirapa, Credit Unions were soon organised in Nandom, Ko and Kaleo during the subsequent months. In September 1957, two years after the launching of the first Credit Union, we sent one of our African priests to Antigonish to study the movement and take a course in social leadership. He is now the first Bishop of the recently created diocese of Wa, the Right Reverend Peter Poriku Derry, and is at present engaged in linking up the different parochial Credit Unions to form a diocesan League or Chapter; he is an enthusiastic advocate of Credit Unions in building up a healthy and vigorous Christian rural life in Africa.

Here is a brief statement of the position at the end of 1959:

	<i>Members</i>	<i>Share capital</i>
St. Joseph's Jirapa Credit Union	442	£4,503
St. Theresa's Nandom Credit Union	502	£5,614
Our Lady's Ko Credit Union	262	£1,061

No figures are available for Kaleo.

The present writer wholeheartedly endorses Douglas Hyde and others when they insist on the setting up now of Credit Unions *à l'Antigonish* in Africa as one of the best ways of helping the people to help themselves, and as one of the best nursery beds for training local leadership. Through the Credit Union movement, the embodiment of charity (in its highest sense) in economic and social life, we help build a society where our needy brothers will have the chance to make their own contribution and under their own power to the general good of the community and the greater glory of God, where man, with his marvellous power to recuperate, will find strength to rise, straighten himself up, throw back his noble head and look for new horizons to conquer. It is the development of the human being into a richer personality, in a spirit of self-help, mutual aid, brotherly love, and a deepening of our common brotherhood in the Mystical Body of Christ.

Let me conclude with the appreciation of another African priest, the Parish Priest of Nandom, one of our biggest parishes in Ghana: "In my opinion, Credit Unions make missionary activity more successful, and any missionary who spreads such an ideal among our people deserves to be ranked as one of their greatest benefactors."

JOHN McNULTY

ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY IN TANGANYIKA

THE DEVELOPMENT of Africa began about eighty years ago when the different European Powers divided the Continent amongst themselves and began the process of colonisation. At the same time various religious bodies sent missionaries to spread their religious beliefs in the newly opened countries. So it is that to-day Catholic, Protestant and Muslim are well established in Africa.

This diversity of religions is matched by a widespread racial diversity. Europe, America and the Far East supplied immigrants for Africa, and to an even greater extent the Near and Middle East. Many of the families of these immigrants have now been in Africa for nearly four generations and Africa has become their home. Numerically this immigration is small compared with the native population, but its cultural, commercial and technical influence far exceeds its numerical strength.

This mixing of Catholic, Protestant, Muslim and pagan in one African Society has caused serious problems to which an Africa on

its way to independence must give serious attention. Hardly anywhere can a uniform pattern of society be found, and we have to deal with a plural society. The spheres of influence of the representatives of different groups overlap and come into conflict with one another. The problem is that all these Africans, for they all in their own way consider themselves Africans, have to live together in some sort of harmony if the whole country is to continue to exist and develop peacefully.

East Africa is a typical example of a plural society. A religious survey of Tanganyika shows a population of about a million and a half Catholics, five to six thousand Protestants and a good two million Muslims. Along with these there are about five million pagans, who are being influenced by both Christians and Muslims.

It is particularly important for the future of Tanganyika that good relations should exist between Christians (Catholic and Protestant) and Muslims. To-day, with independence at the door, it is, more than ever, the task of these religious communions to impress upon their followers the necessity of working together for the future of their country.

Islam is established mainly along the coast of East Africa. The four coastal dioceses of Ndanda, Dar-es-Salaam, Morogoro and Tanga together count 1,560,000 Muslims in a total population of two and a half millions. Amongst these live 360,000 Catholics and about 60,000 Protestants.

We have therefore a peculiar situation in Tanganyika. The coastal area is strongly influenced by Islam, whilst the centre and west are mostly pagan and Christian, except for a few important Muslim strongholds: Kondoa district, Tabora and Kigoma, Ujiji.

Apart from a few ancient strongholds, the Islamisation on the coast is relatively recent. The great rush took place at the end of the First World War, when a large part of the coastal area was bereft of its missionaries by internment. Shortly before, only the Christian missions had taken a strong attitude against tribal initiation customs, as they existed in these areas. Other African customs, for example, everything connected with the cult of the dead, were naturally disapproved of by Christians, because they were associated with certain pagan practices.

Islam, which itself contains certain animistic elements, took a totally different attitude towards these customs. It simply absorbed them, and thus Islam became, in the eyes of the Africans, the protector of ancient African customs and practice, while at the same time it offered the Africans admission to a higher religion. Because of this circumstance the Islamised population also suffered less from detribalisation, that far-reaching effect of the impact of the West in Africa. In Islam, as in African society, religion and life are not separated,

whereas the Christianity preached by us necessarily caused such a separation since the Christians generally remained a minority and could not take part in many customary practices.

Nowadays the situation is changing profoundly. There exist important Christian communities in formerly exclusively Muslim areas. These Christian communities have one advantage: almost all their members have had some sort of schooling, so that the best positions in the administration and in business are more easily available to them than to the Muslims. The Christian, however, is also at a disadvantage: he has become much more detribalised and much more westernised. But these modern diaspora in Africa have caused a movement towards development in the centre of the Muslim populations, which the religious leaders of Islam cannot stop or control.

The conversions to Islam only deferred the problem of the inevitable disruption of African tribal society. To-day Islam has to face this problem, but with about forty years' delay. For the Muslims, too, the gap between social and religious life widens, and detribalisation has become a problem. To-day the Muslim also looks ahead, and seeks closer association with a modern, westernised Africa through education, which opens the road towards a modern society.

Tanganyika is on the eve of independence. Consequently it faces the great problem of how to build a common home-country for all its inhabitants. Pagans, Muslims, Protestants and Catholics are all equally concerned in this vital question. It is up to us Christians to stretch out a helping hand towards those whose opportunities have been more restricted than ours. And if the future political leaders of the country already declare that the new African Government will help the Muslims to make up their leeway in education, then we should adopt a sympathetic attitude to this matter and reject the narrow view.

The situation in Tanganyika to-day on the whole is sound. The relationship between races and religions is good. So it should remain. This will be the best guarantee for the future of the country, which can only overcome the difficulties of its first years of independence through a spirit of unity and mutual understanding.

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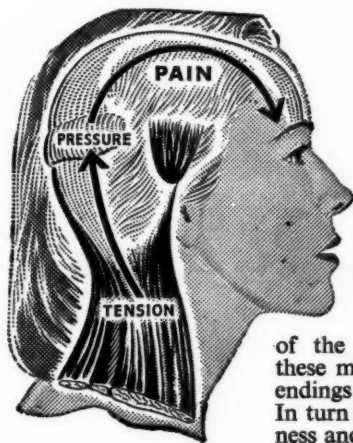
**The Editor, THE MONTH,
31 Farm Street, London, W.I.**

ONE of the great occupational risks of business life under the pressure of to-day is that the practical man of affairs neglects his outside reading, and all too easily falls into a narrow circle of immediate preoccupations. There is always loss in this, and the Catholic business or professional man, as a member of the Church Universal, has a particularly strong reason for keeping his mind open to wider horizons. Certainly it was never more necessary than now to follow world happenings. A direct chain of causes and effects ties every business to economical changes in the world, which are themselves as often the consequence as the cause of changes in men's political and social ideas. These ideas in their turn come out of the religions, or irreligions, of contemporary man.

In many countries the Catholic Church is at the heart of the battle of ideas. Cardinal Manning's saying that "all great quarrels between men are at bottom theological" suggests that there is, in fact, no better starting-point or background for understanding the modern world than a Catholic one. Because of this approach and background

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